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Liturgy, ceremonial and sacred music in Venice at the time of the counter-Reformation.

Bryant, David Douglas

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LITURGY, CEREMONIAL AND SACRED MUSIC
IN VENICE AT THE TIME OF THE
COUNTER-REFORMATION

by

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"Liturgy, ceremonial and sacred music in Venice at the time of the Counter-Reformation."

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the polyphonic musical repertory of the Church of St. Mark's, Venice, in the context of the liturgy and ceremonial it was intended to serve. The published music of the Gabrieli and their contemporaries is re-examined in the light of new information gleaned from local Venetian chronicles, diaries, guide-books, Descrizioni and, in particular, Ceremonial and other liturgical books. Three hitherto conflated musico-liturgical genres - Concerti, Mottetti and Salmi spezzati - are individualised. In Chapter 1 they are contrasted in terms of their differing liturgical functions: Concerti as (in essence) pieces for occasional events; Mottetti as pieces for the generality of liturgical commemorations; Salmi as a special category of liturgico-commemorative work, the double-choir Vespers psalms of the kind best known through the Salmi spezzati (1550) of Adrian Willaert. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 each of these genres is subjected to more detailed analysis: important conclusions are drawn with respect to chronology, the size of the repertory, and the relationship of liturgy (and liturgical music) in Venice to more general tenets of local, and Counter-Reformation, religious and religio-political (sacral) philosophy. In Chapter 5 the essentially comparative theme of the opening is re-established: this time, however, with the emphasis on matters of performance practice and musical style.

Two appendices deal respectively with the liturgical derivations of those texts of which musical settings survive, and with the many descriptions of liturgical music in the non-musical sources.

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PREFACE

Much has been written on the sacred music of late 16th-century Venice; little on the function it was intended to serve. The present study represents, it is hoped, a significant step towards filling this gap. It does not pretend to provide a thorough-going analysis of musical style (the latter, indeed, is considered only in so far as it touches upon wider functional issues). Rather, it constitutes an attempt to place the music of the Church of St. Mark's in its liturgical and ceremonial context; to see it in its true perspective as one small yet significant aspect of the cultural, religious and, indeed, political life (St. Mark's having served as the official church of Doge and State until the downfall of ducal Venice in the Napoleonic era) of the Serenissima Republica.

Accordingly, it takes as its source material not only the well-trodden musical prints of the Gabrieli and their contemporaries but also a further five classes of document hitherto largely unknown to students of Venetian music:

- (i) the liturgical books of the Ducal Basilica: manuscripts and prints which contain the liturgical texts of a rite which differed markedly from that celebrated ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini in the majority of Catholic churches
- (ii) State Cerimoniali: manuscripts which set out in detail the ceremonial life of ducal Venice. These are of two types: (a) liturgically orientated books, which outline the ceremonial proper to the various recurring feast days and Feriae of the liturgical year, and (b) historically orientated books, descriptions of the ceremonial (both liturgical and non-liturgical) which accompanied such "one-off" occasional events as the solemnisation of alliances, victories and treaties, the reception in Venice of foreign princes, and the investiture services for important State officials

- (iii) the private chronicles and diaries of Venetian nobles who, as members of the Republic's governing body, would presumably have been present at St. Mark's on many of the greatest ceremonial occasions
- (iv) printed guide-books: descriptions of the city of Venice, its institutions, and its political, religious, ceremonial and cultural traditions
- (v) printed descriptions of individual occasional events, both liturgical and non-liturgical: categories as above, (ii b).

Sources new to the study of the music of the Gabrieli and their contemporaries have been marked in the Bibliography with an asterisk (*). Particularly rich in their references to polyphonic music are those pertaining to classes (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v).

Despite this richness of information, however, the non-musical documents leave several questions unanswered. Although for the most part specific with regard to the liturgical and ceremonial contexts in which music was performed, they do not always extend this precision to matters of musical style and performance, and never at all to unequivocal identification of the pieces involved. Terms, moreover, such as Mottetto and Concerto, although frequently used (and not only here but in the musical prints as well), are never defined. Accordingly, if both musical and non-musical sources are to be used constructively together, it is necessary to subject both to a not inconsiderable degree of speculative investigation and interpretation.

In providing this interpretation - one, indeed, which takes account not only of the liturgical, ceremonial and musical traditions of the Serenissima Repubblica but also of the many other aspects of State-sponsored culture in relation, where appropriate, to more general tenets of local religious and political thought - I wish to emphasise its essentially conjectural nature. Even if, in the final analysis,

the coincidence of political, liturgical, cultural and specifically musical (stylistic) data would appear to corroborate my initial hypotheses and assertions, this is not to be taken as absolute proof of their correctness; merely, as a measure of their probability. I would also draw attention to the dangers of over-generalisation on the basis of the results of the present study. Such conclusions as may be valid for the City-State of Venice - a city which could boast a whole series of unique political, theological and liturgical traditions - do not necessarily hold good where other Italian City-States are concerned.

My research has been facilitated through the financial assistance of the Department of Education for Northern Ireland, the Italian government, and the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation (New York). I should also like to thank the following friends and colleagues for their generous help: Prof. Denis Arnold and Thomas Walker, who read various sections of my text and offered innumerable suggestions; Dr. Daniela Goldin, who assisted with a number of the more difficult Latin translations; Don Siro Cisilino, who made available his vast array of musical transcriptions; Prof. Giorgio Ferrari, who aided in the tracing of several well-hidden sources; Richard Agee, Elizabeth Bertram, Don Giulio Cattin, Prof. Gaetano Cozzi, Prof. Alberto Gallo, Dr. Oscar Mischiati, Dr. Giovanni Morelli, Maria Teresa Muraro, Prof. Alejandro Planchart, Dr. David Rosand, Dr. Ellen Rosand, Prof. Staale Sinding-Larsen, and Rosalind Thompson, all of whom, in their various capacities, assisted in the solution of particular problems; above all, my supervisor, Dr. Pierluigi Petrobelli, whose ideas led directly to the choosing of the essentially liturgical theme of this study, and whose encouragement, careful guidance, and stimulating criticism have contributed enormously to the final product.

CHAPTER I

CONCERTI, MOTTETTI AND SALMI SPEZZATI:

TERMINOLOGICAL AND FUNCTIONAL DISTINCTIONS

"Wie es denn auch am Tage, dass jetziger zeit in Italia fast alle, oder ja die meisten Componisten gar wenig von Madri-galien, meistentheils aber uff diese [concertatweise] und dergleichen Art gerichtete sehr herrliche Sachen, welche sie mit einer eintzigen, zwo, dreyen, und vier Stimmen cum Basso generali pro Organo (. . .) in druck her fuer kommen lassen, Concertos, concentus ac Motettas indifferenter nennen und inscribiren.

Und wiewol sie die Lateinische Cantiones oder Motetten, so uber 4. mit 5. 6. 7. 8. Stimmen gesetzt meistentheils Sacras Cantiones, Sacros Concentus & Motettas intituliren. So befinde ich doch, dass diese Woerter Concert, Cantiones, Concentus, Motettas eins wie das andere vor Geistliche Lateinische Gesange unnd Cantiones verstehen."¹

Thus comments the German, Michael Praetorius, on the terminological confusion he believed to exist among the music of his southern contemporaries. "Sind etliche Autores," he continues, "diebeyde Woerter (Concerti und Motetti) gebrauchen: Als Antonius Faber, und Simon Molinarius.² Thomas Cechinus inscribirt seine Bicinia, Motetti Concertati.³ Andere, Concentus: Sacra Cantica: Sacras Cantiones, Laudes, Harmonias, Margaritas, Dei Laudes, divinas Laudes, Melodias sacras, Spirituales, Tympanum coeleste, &c."⁴ Ob nu wol diese also mit 2. 3. 4. 5. Stimmen gesetzte Cantiones gar fueglich, Concerti genennet werden koennen, aus den Ursachen; Dieweil in etlichen diebende, drey oder vier Stimmen, einer dem andern die Harmoniam, und bey etlichen die Passaghien oder diminutiones nachfugiren, und was vorher gesungen, nachmachen, dann bald zugleich zusammen fallen, und also gleichsam miteinander concertiren, wer es zum besten heraus bringen kan."⁵ And with this he identifies, and combines, the two definitions of the word Concerto most frequently encountered in theoretical works of the 16th and early 17th centuries - (1) "to join or bind together", thought by many of his contemporaries to derive from the Latin consero (Italian

conserto)⁶ and, as he remarks, to be regarded as synonymous with the Italian Concento⁷ and (2) "(. . .) von Lateinischen verbo concertare, welches mit einander scharmuetzeln heist, seinen Ursprung habe"⁸ - definitions, however, whose generalized nature renders them practically meaningless as aids to distinguishing this musical genre from any other. Not only do motets, as he observes (see above, at the citation Sind etliche Autores), frequently exhibit similar characteristics; so also do most compositions of the period, whether sacred or secular.

It is little wonder, then, that his conclusions regarding musical terminology prove so uniformly negative. But Praetorius, relying as he must upon the hearsay evidence of friends and acquaintances who had travelled to Italy (he himself had never left his native Germany) and on a motley collection of printed music⁹ composed over a period of some fifty years¹⁰ for a wide variety of peninsular churches - both large¹¹ and (comparatively speaking) small,¹² of which several¹³ could boast a unique liturgical and (hence) liturgico-musical tradition - is hardly in the best position to judge. Had he confined his examination to a more limited number of Italian churches, and within a more limited historical period, he might well have begun to reconsider his position; restricting himself still further, to a single religious institution - the Ducal Basilica of Venice - he might even have concluded that two of his terms, Concerto and Mottetto, were each endowed with their own individual and very precise significance. This significance, moreover, he might have defined less in terms of musical style than in accordance with the particular liturgical and ceremonial function which each was intended to serve. A list of occurrences of both these words in Venetian Ceremonial books (Cerimoniali), chronicles and printed Descrizioni will help clarify matters:

(1) CONCERTO

- (a) April 28th, 1556. At votive Mass in San Marco, in honour of the visiting Queen of Poland, "(. . .) furono fatti diversi concerti de Musica."¹⁴

- (b) October 21st, 1571. At votive Mass in San Marco, in celebration of the victory of Lepanto, "(. . .) si fecero concerti divinis-simi."¹⁵

Some days later, at a victory festivity sponsored at Rialto by a group of German merchants, "(. . .) s'udiva suono di (. . .) diversi bei concerti di musica [profana]."¹⁶

At a further victory festivity, mounted by the silk weavers of Venice, "(. . .) si facevano divini concerti [profani]."¹⁷

- (c) November 9th, 1572. At votive Mass in San Marco, in honour of Sebastiano Venier, the triumphant Capitano Generale at Lepanto, "(. . .) si (. . .) udirono (. . .) dilettevolissimi concerti."¹⁸

- (d) July 18th - 27th, 1574. Every evening, outside the Cà Foscari where the visiting King Henry III of France was being lodged, "(. . .) si facevano da musici conserti [profani] singularissimi."¹⁹

July 25th, 1574. At votive Mass at the Church of the Frari in honour of the king, "[fu fatto] soave concerto di musica."²⁰

- (e) June 26th - July 2nd, 1585. Four visiting Japanese princes were entertained every evening with "(. . .) varij concerti [profani]."²¹

- (f) May 6th, 1597. On the presentation of a Golden Rose to the newly crowned Dogaressa, Morosina Grimani, votive Mass in San Marco was celebrated "(. . .) con (. . .) Concerti di angelica eccellenza."²²

- (g) July 26th, 1598. During votive Mass in San Marco, in celebration of the Peace newly signed between France and Spain, "[si fecero] diversi concerti d'instrumenti et voci musicali."²³

- (h) The votive Mass of Holy Trinity which followed the investiture of a Doge included, among other musical items, "(. . .) varij concerti de sonadori et in organo."²⁴

- (i) August 18th, 1590. In the Oratory of the Crociferi, where Doge Pasquale Cicogna (1585 - 95) habitually celebrated the anniversary of his investiture, "(. . .) fu (. . .) ditto una messa piccola con alcuni concerti in organo."25
- (j) The votive Mass of Holy Trinity which followed the investiture of a Procurator of the Basilica was celebrated in "(. . .) alcuni concerti [eseguiti] da i Musici di Chiesa."26

(2) MOTTETTI

- (a) In Epiphania Domini (January 6th). "In primis vesperis (. . .) cantores cantant motetum pro Deo gratias."27 "Dicitur motetum á cantoribus in [primis] vesperis pro Deo gratias."28 "Se dice el motteto del Deo gratias de [primo] vespero dalli cantori."29
- (b) Giovedì Grasso. "El zorno della Zuobba grassa . si canta la messa (. . .) da li cantori . con li mottetti soliti (. . .)."30
- (c) In die Ascensionis Domini. The journey on the Bucintoro (the gilded boat used for the transport of the Doge), first to the ceremony of the Wedding of the Sea, then to the Church of S. Niccolò del Lido, is accompanied "[nell'] andata, [e] nel ritorno (. . .) da i Musici di San Marco, [che cantano] qualche bel motteto."31
- (d) In die SS. Redemptoris (third Sunday of July). Low Mass is celebrated in the Church of the Redentore "(. . .) co' motteti cantati da i Musici di San Marco all'Offertorio, & alla Levatione."32
- (e) In die Omnium Sanctorum (November 1st). "[In secundis vesperis] cantores dicunt motetum pro Deo gratias."33

Mottetto, it would appear, is applied only to a piece of sacred polyphony (other than a setting of the Mass Ordinary) performed in connection with a liturgical commemoration, while Concerto - whether sacred or secular, and whatever its implications in terms of musical style - is used only in the context of "music for an occasional, politically orientated event." Neither definition (if such may be

called a deduction based wholly on circumstantial evidence) is discussed by Praetorius. However, that of Concerto does find a measure of corroboration in a late 16th-century Ferrarese dialogue-treatise, Il Desiderio of Hercole Bottrigari, in which the author, although ultimately unable to resist the temptation of some complicated word-play on the etymological distinctions between Concerto, Conserto and Concento, nevertheless contrives to begin with the following, quite independent, discussion:

"Alemanno BENELLI: Io mi sono partito di casa (. . .) con animo di trovarmi ad udire un Concerto grosso di Musica; il qual mi fù detto stamattina, che si doveva fare in queste vostre parti hoggi dopo desinare subito, nel quale vi hanno da intravenire forse quaranta persone, parte per sonare strumenti diversi, parte per cantare (. . .)."34

"Un Concerto grosso di Musica; (. . .) nel quale vi hanno da intravenire forse quaranta persone": such a Concerto can only be identified as "an ensemble of voices, and/or instruments." Similarly, on successive appearances of the word in the treatise. Both "Il Concerto (. . .) è già spedito, & essendomi io trovato ad udirlo dal principio al fine replicatamente me ne torno a casa, & con tanta rinovatione di confusione (. . .)",³⁵ and "Essendomi trovato più volte ad udire varij, & diversi concerti di Musica con voci accompagnate da varij strumenti"³⁶ are open only to the same interpretation. Let us return, however, to our initial example. The "Concerto grosso di Musica", in which were to participate forty musicians, "(. . .) si doveva fare [i.e., "was to be made/given/performed"] in queste vostre parti hoggi dopo desinare subito": the word hitherto reserved for the description of the musical ensemble has now taken on a second, decidedly functional, significance, that of the occasion on which the ensemble performed. Later, moreover, we learn that such large-scale Concerti - Concerti grandi as they are generally called in Ferrara³⁷ - are to be associated exclusively with

great political and religious events. Those patronized by the Duke of Ferrara, says Bottrigari, are closely connected with "[il] trattenimento di Cardinali, Duchi, Principi, & d'altri personaggi grandi, de qual sia (. . .) splendidissima, & lietissima albergatrice."³⁸ And those of the nuns of S. Vito di Ferrara are to be heard only "(. . .) À certi tempi, come di solennità grandissime della Chiesa, ò per honore (. . .) Prencipi (. . .), ò per gratificare (. . .) qualche famoso professore, ò nobile amatore della musica."³⁹

Concerti, as the author states, are not a peculiarly Ferrarese phenomenon; they are typical of a number of other Italian cities, in particular Verona and the Serenissima Republica of Venice.⁴⁰ How, then, we may ask, does the usage of the word in Il Desiderio tie in with that to be found in Venetian Ceremonial book terminology? Very closely, it would appear. In both cities, quite regardless of its various musical connotations ("an ensemble of voices, and/or instruments", the music composed for such an ensemble, or, by transference, as in the above-quoted Bottrigari example, the occasion on which this ensemble performs), it is used only in connection with the largest-scale political or (in Ferrara) religious events. In addition there are some remarkable similarities in the details of phraseology: "diversi concerti de Musica", "diversi bei concerti di musica", "varij concerti", "diversi concerti d'instrumenti et voci musicali" and "varij concerti de sonadori et in organo" (Venetian ceremonial), "un Concerto grosso di musica" and "varij, & diversi concerti di Musica con voci accompagnate da varij strumenti" (the treatise of Bottrigari).

Let us return, however, to our initial theme, the distinction which appears to exist in Venetian Ceremonial book terminology between Concerto, a word used only in connection with "an occasional, politically orientated event" (perhaps also, interpolating the remarks

of Bottrigari, "a great, religious solemnity"), and Mottetto, "music for a liturgical commemoration". This distinction is sometimes recognizable in the title-pages of contemporary prints of Venetian sacred music: thus, the Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum (1576) of Andrea Gabrieli bears the designation "omnibus sanctorum solemnitatibus deservientium",⁴¹ in contrast to the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) continenti musica di chiesa, madrigali, et altro (1587)⁴² which most certainly does not. Much more informative than the title-pages from this point of view, however, are the actual contents of these prints, both in respect of their individual liturgical derivations and in terms of their organization within the whole. Sometimes, that is, a collection of Mottetti will proceed from start to finish in more or less strict liturgical order. The above-mentioned Ecclesiasticarum cantionum begins, as does the Breviary, with a Psalterium section (albeit consisting of a solitary motet); it continues with a selection of items from the Proprium de Tempore and Proprium Sanctorum, arranged in a chronological sequence which leads forward from the feast of the Nativity (December 25th) to that of St. Andrew (November 30th); and finishes, still in accordance with the Breviary, with a number of settings of texts from the Commune Sanctorum.⁴³ Volume I of Claudio Merulo's two-volume Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (1578)⁴⁴ consists of a series of motets for the Proprium de Tempore and Proprium Sanctorum, arranged in a cycle "À D. N. I. C. Nativitate, [usque] ad primum Kalendas Augusti"; Volume II, after a somewhat incongruous opening number for use during tempore paschali, completes the Proprium cycle "À primo Kalendas Augusti, usque ad D. N. I. C. Nativitatem" and rounds off with a text from each of the Communia Sanctorum. Other publications, although much less rigid in their liturgical ordering, do not nevertheless escrow it altogether. Pages 1 - 16 of Andrea Gabrieli's

Sacrae cantiones (. . .) quinque vocum (1565) are devoted entirely to settings of the psalms (admittedly arranged in the non-liturgical sequence "Feria II, Dominica, Feria III, Feria II (twice), Feria VI, Sabbato, Dominica"); pages 17 - 20 contain only motets for the Officium Defunctorum; while pages 21 - 37 show a definite predilection for texts from the Proprium de Tempore (once again, however, in non-liturgical order, and with a number of psalm texts interpolated⁴⁵). Pages 2 - 16 of Giovanni Croce's 5-part Sacrae cantiones (1601)⁴⁶ are ordered essentially liturgically, according to the Proprium de Tempore (beginning and ending, however, not with Dominica I Adventus, the feast prescribed in the Breviary, but with the period after Pentecost); interpolated, however, are two settings of the psalms and a Marian text from the Commemorationes Communes.⁴⁷ Of the thirty 5-part motets in Baldassare Donato's Primo libro de motetti a cinque, a sei, et otto voci (1599)⁴⁸ no less than twenty-one are devoted to the Proprium de Tempore,⁴⁹ with particular emphasis upon Advent and Quadragesima which between them account for fifteen; a similar predilection for the Proprium de Tempore is discernible among the 6-part and 8-part items, although here with the emphasis (as is to be expected with larger-scale pieces) more upon major festivities (such as Christmas, Ascension and Trinity Sunday) than on the small fry that come in between. In contrast, the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) is organized throughout according to number of voices (from 6 to 16); liturgical ordering is conspicuously absent, with settings from the four major Proprium and Commune divisions standing side by side in apparent disarray. Internal organization, that is, proceeds entirely on a musical basis, with liturgical considerations reduced to the barest minimum.

Textual analysis of Concerti and Mottetti reveals further sharp

distinctions. Both groups, indeed, are drawn in the main from the liturgies of Matins, with somewhat less frequent borrowings from Mass, Vespers and Compline. For the most part, however, Mottetti set the Antiphons, Responds, Alleluias, Sequences and Prayers of specific liturgical feasts and Commons;⁵⁰ they usually refer directly and unambiguously to the nature of the commemoration in hand;⁵¹ they frequently set the chosen liturgical text in its entirety (for example, the fully extended Matins sequence of Respond-Verset-Respond is of not uncommon occurrence⁵²) or, at any rate, as much of it as can be conveniently fitted into the limited musical space available (for example, seven, eight or even nine verses of a psalm, on those few occasions when the latter is given a musical setting⁵³); in short, they are overtly liturgico-commemorative both in form and in content. Of the Latin texts in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .), on the other hand, two are non-liturgical⁵⁴ - and one of these, the 8-part Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth, openly celebrates some "secular" military victory.⁵⁵ Seventeen of the remaining (liturgical) pieces are settings of the Psalms (texts which, though recited through the vehicle of the liturgical Hours, nevertheless form an independent cycle of their own and rarely make any but the most oblique and coincidental of references to the feast day or Feria in hand);⁵⁶ four others, the Antiphon sancta Maria from the Commemorationes Communes, the Benediction chant O Salutaris Hostia, the Magnificat and a setting of three of the movements from the Ordinary of the Mass,⁵⁷ are of a general nature, and are sung (or are eligible to be sung) on an everyday basis throughout the whole, or most, of the liturgical year; one more, the Marian Antiphon Ave Regina caelorum,⁵⁸ although essentially commemorative, is not restricted in its use to any one liturgical feast, but is sung in the Commune de Tempore after the Office from Purificatio B.M.V. (February 2nd) to

Feria IV Majoris Hebdomadae inclusive; and two final compositions⁵⁹ set the Oratio, Deus qui beatum Marcum, a text which, although proper in the regular Tridentine liturgy to the commemorative feast of St. Mark (April 25th),⁶⁰ is used in the Venetian liturgy on votive occasions only.⁶¹ Thus, although there still remain some fifteen pieces for specific liturgical commemorations⁶² (mostly, however, confined to the principal feasts of Christmas, Easter and the Virgin Mary - each of them special, if liturgical, events in their own right⁶³), these are quite heavily outnumbered by texts which, in commemorative terms at least, are essentially neutral - texts, moreover, whose ordinary ferial context could not reasonably be expected to admit of such large-scale musical settings as these.

In further contrast to Mottetti, Concerti texts are almost invariably curtailed. Psalm settings frequently omit all but the opening verses,⁶⁴ and settings of Matins Responds lack the accompanying Versets and Respond repeats.⁶⁵ Liturgical completeness, then, in contrast to its importance in the commemorative Mottetti, has become a minor consideration. By implication, at least, these Concerti are surely occasional.

Somewhere between the two extremes of Concerti and Mottetti lie the two volumes of Sacrae Symphoniae (published respectively in 1597 and 1615) of Giovanni Gabrieli,⁶⁶ each of which is divided almost equally between texts from a wide variety of commemorative liturgies⁶⁷ and those of a rather more generalized nature (such as Mass, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis and the psalms).⁶⁸ Indeed, a certain diversity of liturgical and ceremonial function is implicit in the very choice of such a title. Not only is the word Symphonia conspicuously absent from Venetian Ceremonial-book terminology (where we must therefore conclude it has no particular significance); in the hands of (the admittedly unreliable) Praetorius it is actually defined in exclusively musical

terms as synonymous with Concento, meaning "a harmonious ensemble of voices and/or instruments".⁶⁹ Descriptions of the ceremonial life of the Venetian State Basilica contain two distinct allusions to the term Concento. And each of these - as if to emphasize the particular associations of the word in terms of musical style - cast it in a different ceremonial light. On July 21st, 1574, at a votive solemnity in honour of the visiting King of France, "(. . .) cominciarono i due famosi organi (. . .) a far dolcissimo concento";⁷⁰ yet, equally, on the annual, liturgical commemoration of Annuncio B.M.V. (March 25th), "(. . .) il Principe, & la Signoria [vanno] in Chiesa [ad udire la] Messa, che viene (. . .) con dolci concenti di suoni, & di canti celebrata."⁷¹ It would appear, then, that Concento is both liturgically and ceremonially neutral. As, by implication, is its apparent namesake, Symphonia. And it is thus hardly surprising that the latter should have been chosen to describe the particularly complicated blend of (apparently) occasional Concerti and commemorative Mottetti which characterizes these two major Gabrieli publications.⁷²

A similar solution to an identical terminological problem is adopted by Giovanni Battista Grillo in his Sacri Concentus ac Symphoniae (. . .) of 1618.⁷³ Different is that employed some two decades earlier in the publications of Giovanni Bassano: his selected title, however, Motetti per Concerti ecclesiastici (Volume I, 1598; Volume II, 1599),⁷⁴ conveys equally clearly the particular liturgical composition of his prints, a basic diet of Mottetti (or Concerti⁷⁵) for the greatest liturgical commemorations,⁷⁶ supplemented with a liberal sprinkling of (apparently) occasional items.⁷⁷ The Dedication, moreover, to Volume I of the set offers further evidence (if, once again, of a purely circumstantial kind) for our "functional", or "contextual", definition of the word Concerto. "Essendo io," writes Bassano, "Maestro di Musica

dell'honoratissimo Seminario, [ho] fatto li presenti componimenti, per servizio di quello, che spesso nelle pubbliche solennità suol comparire, con musica inanzi alla Sereniss. Signoria."⁷⁸ All these works (Mottetti), that is, have been composed for (per) the use of the Concerti, the "ensembles of voices and/or instruments", which perform only at the greatest "public solemnities". Concerto, indeed, as in the Ferrara of Bottrigari, is applied not only to those groups which are present on one-off, politically orientated occasions, but also to those employed on the greatest of the annual, liturgical commemorations.

So far, then, our examination of Venetian, Ceremonial-book terminology and its influence upon the general, liturgical character of the musical publications has yielded two overriding conclusions: (1) that the term Concerto (quite regardless of its connotations in terms of musical style) is used only in connection with ceremonial occasions of the greatest political or religious importance, and (2) that the word Mottetto is restricted in its application to "music for a liturgical commemoration". In the last resort, however, such conclusions cannot be regarded as truly valid unless first thoroughly tested against the evidence of one further body of essential information: the precise liturgical derivations of the individual texts themselves. Indeed, liturgical analysis will form the basis of our study when, in Chapters II and III, we come to consider in greater detail the exact ceremonial function of each of the above-mentioned musical genres. For the present, however, we will confine ourselves to examination of a few specific examples.

Excellent material comes conveniently to hand in the shape of a small group of texts in honour of St. Mark who, as patron saint of Venice, was celebrated not only on a regular commemorative basis (the "Tridentine" feast of St. Mark, April 25th, together with the two local

feasts of the Translatio, January 31st, and Inventio, June 25th⁷⁹) but also in a number of occasional solemnities. Compare, in the following table, the liturgical and/or ceremonial function of each text with the nomenclature (Concerti, Mottetti or Sacrae Symphoniae) used in the various publications in which it occurs:

<u>TEXT INCIPIIT</u>	<u>LITURGICAL POSITION</u>	<u>MUSICAL SETTINGS</u>
<u>Deus qui beatum Marcum</u>	Oratio, used in the votive service which followed immediately upon the election of a Procurator or a Doge;80 in the votive Mass of Holy Trinity which was celebrated on the day after and on the anniversary of the election of the latter;81 in the votive ceremony which marked the inauguration of a new Capitano Generale of the Venetian armed forces;82 and in the occasional Processio de Domina ad Pluviam sive serenitatem petendam, <u>Processio de Domina tempore pestis</u> and <u>Processio de Domina tempore belli</u> .83	A. GABRIELI <u>Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli</u> (<u>. . .</u>), cit., pp.18, 30. G. GABRIELI <u>Sacrae Symphoniae</u> , I, cit., p.39. G. BASSANO <u>Motetti per Concerti ecclesiastici</u> , I, cit., p.13.
<u>Beatissimus Marcus</u>	A combination of Responds II and III (without Versets), Matins, in festo S. Marci.84	G. ZARLINO :..... <u>Musici quinque vocum, moduli, motecta</u> (<u>. . .</u>), pp.16-17.85
<u>Cumque beatissimus Marcus</u>	Part of Respond and Verset VI, Matins, in festo S. Marci.86	C. MERULO <u>Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus</u> , I, cit., p.13.
<u>Dum illuc escente</u>	Exact liturgical position unclear. The text, however, makes reference to a liturgical commemoration: "Dum illuc escente beati Marci sollemnitate Paschale nobis gaudium germinatur."	C. MERULO <u>Il primo libro de mottetti a quattro</u> (<u>. . .</u>), cit., p.5.
<u>Iubilemus singuli</u>	Newly composed text, based upon one of the several Introit models (see below, Appendix I, §27), and which makes reference to a liturgical commemoration: "(. . .) dies festum celebrantes in honore beati Marci Evangelistae."	G. GABRIELI <u>Sacrae Symphoniae</u> , I, cit., p.27.

<u>TEXT INCIPIT</u>	<u>LITURGICAL POSITION</u>	<u>MUSICAL SETTINGS</u>
<u>Virtute magna</u>	Non-liturgical, but makes reference to a liturgical commemoration: "(...) Beatus Marcus Evangelista in cuius honorem praesens nobis adest festivitas."	G. GABRIELI <u>Sacrae Symphoniae, I, cit., p.51.</u>
<u>O Rex gloriae qui beatum Marcum</u>	The first half of this text ("O Rex gloriae qui beatum Marcum Evangelistam tuum Evangelicae praedicationis gratia decorasti") parallels closely the opening of the occasional prayer <u>Deus qui beatum Marcum</u> (see above). <u>The remaining words, however, ("O Rex gloriae (. . .), fac nos quibus apparuit in terris gaudentes in caelis mereamur")</u> apparently refer to the liturgical commemoration of Ascension. For further on this (apparently) dual function, both occasional and commemorative, see pp.99-100.	G. BASSANO <u>Motetti per Concerti ecclesiastici, I, cit., p.1.</u>

As can be seen, the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) contains two separate settings of the solitary, fully occasional text, Deus qui beatum Marcum; the motet collections of Zarlino and Merulo, on the other hand, concern themselves exclusively with pieces for liturgical commemorations (Beatissimus Marcus, Cumque beatissimus Marcus and Dum illuc escente); while the Sacrae Symphoniae of Giovanni Gabrieli and the Motetti per Concerti ecclesiastici of Bassano each consist of texts which illustrate both types of function. Our earlier conclusions, then, shall require no reiteration.

ONE FURTHER GROUP of pieces, terminologically distinct from both Concerti and Mottetti, is identified by Giuseppe Zarlino in Part iii of his Istitutioni harmoniche of 1558.⁸⁷ "Accaderà alle volte," he writes, "di comporre alcuni Salmi in una maniera, che si chiama a Choro spezzato, i quali spesse volte si sogliono cantare in Vinegia nelli Vesperti, & altre hore delle feste solenni; & sono ordinati, & divisi in due Chori, over in tre; ne i quali cantano Quattro voci."⁸⁸ These so-called Salmi spezzati - in particular, those of Adriano Willaert to which Zarlino specifically refers⁸⁹ - have all too frequently been confused with the Concerto tradition of Andrea Gabrieli and his successors;⁹⁰ understandably so since, as we have already seen, the latter too displays a certain predilection for the Psalms, in settings not uncommonly scored for two or more choirs (eight or more voices). Yet there are a number of striking divergencies. In the Salmi spezzati, each text is set in its entirety (Concerti, as we have seen, are frequently concerned with the opening verses only); and each concludes with a setting of the Doxology (which Concerti omit altogether). Salmi, moreover, are intended primarily for Vespers⁹¹ (Concerti, as examination of the excerpts quoted above on pp.13-14 shows, are for the most part performed during Mass). And unlike the essentially occasional Concerti, they are

purely liturgico-commemorative in function (sung, as Zarlino states, at the "feste solenni"), and organized in the musical prints - as are Mottetti - in accordance with their relative liturgical positions. The 8-part Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia (. . .) (1597) of Croce,⁹² for example, opens (pp.3-9) with a sequence of five psalms (Nos. 109, 110, 111, 112 and 116) liturgically appropriate to 1st Vespers in Nativitate Domini;⁹³ the five psalms (Nos. 109, 112, 121, 126 and 147) which follow (pp.10-16) are destined for use at the various feasts of the Virgin Mary;⁹⁴ while the final eleven (Nos. 110, 112, 113, 115, 125, 127, 129, 131, 138, 145 and 146; pp.16-30), when used in conjunction with the preceding compositions, provide cover for all remaining feasts of great liturgical importance,⁹⁵ besides a series of compositions for use during each of the seven ferial liturgies. The much later Vesperì a otto voci (1675) of Francesco Cavalli⁹⁶ begins (pp.2-13) with a "Vespero della B. V. Maria", continues (pp.16-46) with a "Vespero delle Domeniche con li Salmi Correnti di tutto l'Anno", and concludes (pp.50-61) with a grouping entitled "Vespero delli Cinque Laudate, ad uso della Capella di S. Marco."⁹⁷

The differences with the Mottetti tradition, however, are no less in evidence. Salmi spezzati are performed only upon the most important liturgical feasts (Mottetti, as our cursory examination of their liturgical derivations - see p.18 above - has shown, are used on a great variety of occasions, both major and, relatively speaking, minor); their texts are totally lacking in references to the liturgical commemorations to which they belong; and they are never performed during Mass (where, as we have seen, not only Concerti but also Mottetti are not infrequently interpolated). They are inconceivable, in fact, if not in their liturgically appointed positions (Mottetti, it would appear, assume on occasion an essentially "substitute" function⁹⁸). This is

clear from the innumerable Ceremonial-book references to Vespers services in which "(. . .) omnes [five] psalmi cantantur á duobus choris cantorum",⁹⁹ "(. . .) psalmi omnes cantantur solemnissime á duobus choris cantorum",¹⁰⁰ and "(. . .) aliquando cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum, ad petitionem (. . .) procuratorum (. . .) . sed ordinarie non cantant[ur] psalmi á cantoribus."¹⁰¹

IN CONCLUSION, then, we state again that the terms Concerti, Mottetti and Salmi spezzati each possess a significance which - in Venice at least - far transcends that of the terminological cosmetics advanced by the little travelled and etymologically centred Praetorius. This significance is defined according to liturgical and ceremonial function. It is immediately apparent in the State Ceremonial books and printed Descrizioni, from whence it extends both to the title-pages and internal organization of the musical prints, and to the liturgical derivations of their various individual contents. The main points of divergence between the three seemingly independent genres are as follows:

CONCERTI

Pieces for important musical occasions held in conjunction with grandiose political or religious festivities.

Psalm for Matins, Prime and Lauds account for some 50% of texts. A smaller number of Antiphons and Matins Responds; a few chants from Mass; a few non-liturgical texts. Texts frequently of a general laudatory nature.

Texts used outside their immediate liturgical positions, generally at Mass.

Texts frequently curtailed. Settings of psalms include opening verses only and omit Doxology; Matins Responds omit both the accompanying Verset and the repeat of the Respond.

Prints organised according to number of voices; liturgical ordering absent.

MOTETTES

Pieces for a wide variety of liturgical commemorations, both major and minor.

Antiphons and Responds for Matins. Antiphons for Vespers. Alleluias, Sequences, Prayers, etc., from Mass. Few psalms. Words generally refer to the nature of specific liturgical commemorations.

Texts used outside their immediate liturgical positions, generally during Mass or Vespers. They are sometimes "substitute" in function.

Texts frequently uncurtailed, or curtailed as little as circumstances permit. Matins Responds often utilise the full P - V - R sequence; psalm motets set many or all verses of the chosen liturgical text.

Sometimes internal organisation of prints follows that of Breviarium and Missale; in other publications, texts of the same type are grouped together though in no specifically liturgical order; in still others, there is merely a particular emphasis upon one or more sections of the liturgy

SALMI SPEZZATI

Pieces for liturgical commemorations; use limited to the most important feasts only.

Psalms for Vespers and the lesser Office Hours (such as Compline and Terce) only. No settings of texts for Mass, Matins or Lauds. No specific references to the nature of the liturgical commemorations involved.

Texts sung in their liturgically appointed positions, at Vespers (and the lesser Office Hours) only.

Texts set in full, and invariably conclude with Doxology.

Prints organised strictly according to liturgical function of contents.

CONCERTI

MOTTETTI

(the Proprium de Tempore, Advent, Quadregesima and so on). Liturgical ordering, however, is never entirely absent, as it is in publications of Concerti.

SALMI SPEZZATI

Having thus identified the major terminological divisions in the sacred music of the Church of St. Mark, we are now ready to proceed to a more detailed examination of each of these functional categories in its liturgical and ceremonial context.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OCCASIONAL REPERTORY

A. CHURCH AND STATE IN 16th-CENTURY VENICE: THE LITURGY OF SAN MARCO.

San Marco, as the official church of the Venetian State, necessarily served something of a dual purpose. As a church, it acted as religious centre of the city, where Doge and Senators might attend and on occasion intervene¹⁰² in the celebration of the liturgy. But equally, as an official State institution under the direct control of the Doge,¹⁰³ it could hardly fail to reflect the politico-religious needs and aspirations of its rulers. Thus Doge, Procurators, military generals and Grand Chancellors all received their insignia of office in the church; it was here that a visiting foreign dignitary would be taken to admire the Treasure and religious relics of the Republic; and here also that the fully assembled government would meet to celebrate the endless succession of alliances, victories and treaties on which depended the fate of most Venetian interests in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁰⁴ Aspects of Venetian history - and of local, politico-religious aspirations - might also find expression in the day-to-day commemorative liturgy. Highlight of Ascension Day was the annual ceremony of the Wedding of the Sea, a colourful and time-honoured reminder of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic;¹⁰⁵ linked to the feast of the Annunciation (March 25th) was the anniversary of the foundation of the Republic;¹⁰⁶ the Festum SS.Redemptoris (third Sunday of July), established in 1577, marked the liberation of the city from a two-year-long epidemic of plague;¹⁰⁷ certain formulae from the liturgy for the feast of S.Giustina (October 7th) referred specifically to the great naval victory of Lepanto (with which, on October 7th, 1571, this hitherto minor feast day had happened to coincide);¹⁰⁸ and texts from the Venetian liturgies for the Translatio (January 31st) and Apparitio (June 25th) S.Marci made allusion to the privileged position of heavenly grace supposedly enjoyed by the members of the local community through the latter-day miracles associated with their patron saint.¹⁰⁹ The overall situation, in fact, might well be described as a kind of synthesis between the sacred and the secular: a synthesis which, it would appear, was typical of many local liturgies in the Middle Ages¹¹⁰ but which, as we shall see, was something of a rarity in the Catholic world by the closing decades of the 16th century.

How, then, are we to explain the survival in Venice of this

apparently quite archaic feature? The answer presumably lies partly in the liturgy itself and its relationship to local history and politico-ecclesiastical traditions, partly in the impact upon it of the ever-tense relationship between Venice and the Counter-Reformation Papacy. As yet, however, historians have paid little attention to either of these issues. Those studies of the ducal liturgy which do exist tend to rely heavily upon descriptive or, at best, comparative methods, at the almost total expense of analysis either per se or in the context of specifically Venetian customs and institutions.¹¹¹ The only exception is represented by a short article of Paolo Prodi,¹¹² whose so-called "suggestions for research" provide an interesting point of departure for the present study. He writes:

"It would be of considerable interest to examine the evolution in this period [the 16th century] of changes in ducal liturgy and ceremony. The problem has [already] been posed for the Middle Ages (. . .). From an examination of elections and investitures, from ducal eulogies and insignia, and from public ceremonial (. . .) comes the conclusion that while the Doge was not considered sacred in any strict sense, neither was he simply seen as a civil magistrate - as witness the ducal cultus centred on the Church of St. Mark ['cappella nostra, libera a servitute Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae'¹¹³]. The history of these ceremonies and of this cultus is completely unexplored for the 15th and 16th centuries. It could be significant that the first ducal ceremonies, at least the first that have been preserved, come from the second half of the Cinquecento (. . .) and it can tentatively be suggested that what we see is an attempt to bolster the sacral aspect of ducal authority in the face of the Counter-Reformation emphasis on the separation of powers, [that is, on the separation of the spiritual from the temporal]." ¹¹⁴

Prodi has, so to speak, put his finger on one of the most fundamental aspects of Venetian political philosophy: namely, the sacral role of the Christian State, as personified through the office and actions of both Doge and government. The concept is already well established by the 13th century. Venice is regarded as legitimate heir to the imperial church of Constantine; the Doge, princeps in republica and princeps in ecclesia, becomes a latter-day Emperor, responsible for the unity and prosperity of Church and State in an equilibrium now lost in Byzantium itself.¹¹⁵ Three hundred years later, however,

although little on the surface has changed,¹¹⁶ the reality of the situation has undergone dramatic alteration. "Radical innovations within Catholicism (. . .) could not but complicate matters for the church in Venice, though their epicentre lay elsewhere. The strengthened authority of the Renaissance Papacy, the dwindling of any possibility of religious differentiation in matters of faith and organization due to the existence of opposed religious blocs after the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation drive towards uniformity [in doctrine] and centralization [of ecclesiastical power at Rome]: all these were factors which [in the course of the 16th century] modified and almost completely transformed the Church's local organization (. . .)."¹¹⁷ There can be little doubt that even in Venice, with its time-honoured tradition of autonomy in spiritual affairs, local customs and beliefs found themselves under increasing pressure from the same powerful currents which now engulfed the rest of the Catholic world. How else, indeed, may we interpret the words and actions of the Papal Nuncio, G. Antonio Facchinetti, who writes in 1566: "I perceive a good intention in the prince and the older men, but they are deceived by a bad tradition, (. . .) so it is uphill work to disabuse them skilfully, and a little at a time, as I shall not fail to do",¹¹⁸ and who duly presents himself before the Senate to explain - although with conspicuous lack of success - the principle of the separation of powers?¹¹⁹

As a mere diplomat, his power in the matter would clearly have been limited. However, be that as it may, a very real threat to the ecclesiastical rights of the Venetian government had already emerged some five years earlier, in the form of a Bull from the Pope himself: in 1561, Pius IV, while renewing the long-standing privilege of the Republic to propose a candidate as head of the local patriarchate, also proclaimed (for the first time) the Holy See's exclusive right to ratification.¹²⁰ Once again, the Venetians turn a blind eye. Just three years later, an official description of the ceremonies for the creation of a Patriarch leaves little room for consultation with Rome between the time of his election in the Senate and the proclamation of the news to the people.¹²¹ It is only, indeed, in the early years of the 17th century that the Senate finally consents to the examination of its candidates before

a congregation of Cardinals in Rome, prior to final ratification.¹²² And it does so with a reluctance which leaves its own attitude abundantly clear.

Meanwhile, the Pope had extended his attack along a second front. In two further Bulls, Quod a nobis (1568) and Quo primum tempore (1570),¹²³ Pius V sought to establish a single rite, the Gregorian or Roman, in place of the many local liturgies which had grown up through the Middle Ages. And although the move was not aimed specifically at Venice, it could hardly fail to cause concern in a city whose local history and political traditions found such unequivocal expression in liturgy and ceremonial. Fortunately, however, (from the Venetian point of view) a loophole existed. Perhaps out of genuine respect for antiquity, perhaps out of sheer political expedient, Pius also let it be known that "(. . .) omnia (. . .) Breviaria [et Missalia] consuetudine excedente annos ducentos" ¹²⁴ might yet claim exemption from his ruling. The immediate result was papal recognition for a very limited number of local liturgies, of which the most important were Ambrosian (that of Milan), Mozarabic (celebrated in a handful of churches in Toledo, Spain) and Patriarchino (used by several churches in the Patriarchates of Aquileia and Grado - the seat of the latter having been transferred in 1457 to Venice¹²⁵). The rite of San Marco was actually derived from that of Aquileia.¹²⁶ But for the 16th-century Venetian, who thought it to be Alexandrian in origin,¹²⁷ this could have provided little comfort. Clearly, some positive action would be necessary were not the ducal liturgy to be threatened with extinction. Hence, the document which has now survived as the most important single source for the liturgy and ceremonial of St. Mark's as it stood during the lifetime of the Gabrieli: the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, drawn up in 1564 by the then Master of Ceremonies at the church, Bartolomeo Bonifacio.¹²⁸ Forewarned, presumably, by the liturgical reforms advocated in the previous year by the Council of Trent (and which the Bulls of 1568 and 1570 were merely designed to implement),¹²⁹ Bonifacio sets out to establish once and for all the great antiquity, independence and purity of the local, Venetian rite. Thus, even in the title-page, he tells how his manuscript has been "(. . .) ex vetustissimis eiusdem Ecclesiae [Sancti Marci] codicibus quam diligentissime undique collectum (. . .)." ¹³⁰

He continues in the introductory Epistola with a brief history of the ducal liturgy: how it had always remained somewhat apart from the development of other western liturgies;¹³¹ how, nevertheless, by the 13th century, many of its texts and chants had lost much of their original purity;¹³² how, finally, Moro Simeone, Primicerio of San Marco from 1287 to 1291, had ordered his Master of Ceremonies to compile a Rituale "(. . .) secundum veram [consuetudinem] ecclesiae antiquamque ordinatam."¹³³ And in the Rituum itself he makes constant reference to "(. . .) nostri Missalj, gradualibus, et epistolario",¹³⁴ and "(. . .) nostro orationalj, et Antiphonarijs" ¹³⁵ (i.e., "nostro" as opposed to those of Rome), besides including, near the end, a number of accounts of ceremonies and events of religious importance alleged to have taken place up to 500 (and not just 200) years earlier.¹³⁶ We may question the authenticity of much of this information. It could be significant, firstly, that there survives no contemporary (13th-century) proof that the Simeone manuscript was ever really commissioned,¹³⁷ and secondly, that of all the Ceremonial books apparently extant in the 16th century this is the only one subsequently - perhaps conveniently - to have disappeared.¹³⁸ Whatever the case, however, one fact seems almost beyond doubt. The Cerimoniale of 1564 was conceived in the first place as the Venetian reply to the recommendations of the Council of Trent vis-à-vis the liturgy. It was inspired by the pressing need to safeguard local liturgical traditions against the enhanced pretensions of the Roman See, and represents, as Prodi suggests, "(. . .) an attempt to bolster the sacral aspect of ducal authority in the face of the Counter-Reformation emphasis on the separation of powers."¹³⁹ If it does so through fabrication, Rome could be none the wiser.

From this time onwards, a stubborn insistence upon the spiritual and political autonomy of the State is characteristic of all Venetian dealings with the Papacy. In 1571, for example, the government joins with Rome and other western powers in a Holy (Christian) League against the Turk; yet two years later, it sees fit to conclude a separate Peace with the enemy, apparently quite oblivious of the desires of its Catholic allies.¹⁴⁰ In 1581, an enquiry by Rome into cases of suspected unorthodoxy among the clergy of Venice turns out to be something of a whitewash when the Republic demands, and eventually wins, the right to appoint the sole Inquisitor.¹⁴¹ In 1603,

a 14th-century law which forbade the building of all new churches and monasteries in Venice without prior government approval is extended by the Senate to cover the entire Veneto.¹⁴² And in 1605, the Republic takes the then unusual step of prosecuting, under its Criminal Law, a couple of miscreant (Catholic) priests.¹⁴³

The result: the Papal Interdict of 1606-7, the culminating point to fifty years of strife between the two Italian States. The Venetians, true to local tradition, deny its validity, and retaliate with a series of pamphlets designed to justify their cause before the eyes of the world.¹⁴⁴ Refutations, for the most part, of specific Papal charges, these pamphlets also contain much which is of more general interest to a study of Venetian State propaganda and shed, indeed, considerable light upon the unusual religious aspirations of the Republic. In the words of the official spokesman, the Servite monk Paolo Sarpi:

"Iddio ha costituito due Governi nel Mondo; uno spirituale, l'altro temporale, ciascuno di essi supremo e indipendente l'uno dall'altro. L'uno è il ministero Ecclesiastico, l'altro è il Governo politico. Dello spirituale, ha dato la cura alli Apostoli, et alli suoi Successori, del temporale a' Principi; sì che li uni non possino intromettersi in quello che agl'altri appartiene." ¹⁴⁵

From the above, it might appear that the Venetians have finally bowed to papal pressure and accepted the doctrine of the separation of powers. Nothing, however, could be further from the case. Sarpi's frequent references to the model of the Imperial Church of Constantine¹⁴⁶ show that even as late as 1600 the Doge of Venice could still claim something of the sacred aura traditionally associated with the rulers of medieval Byzantium. And now he makes use of an old Venetian legend, in order to stand the Pope's own argument upon its head. The Doge, according to local tradition, is no mere temporal ruler: he is also, along with the Pope, a legitimate successor (one of the several, unspecified "Successori") to the Apostolic tradition and thus, in his own right, a fully qualified leader (along with the Pope) of the Holy Catholic Church. The historical "facts" are simple. St. Mark, "(. . .) discipulus et interpres Petri Apostoli" ¹⁴⁷ and founder of the Church of Alexandria,

has finally come to rest beneath the High Altar of the Venetian Ducal Chapel, thus fulfilling a long-standing promise of Christ ("Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista meus"¹⁴⁸), and at the same time securing for himself, through the Doge, a continuing role in the modern world. The special relationship which was supposed to exist between the two men is perhaps best illustrated through reference to Venetian State iconography of the period: in particular, that which surrounds the coronation of the Doge. In the investiture ceremony itself, which takes place in the Choir of San Marco under the watchful gaze of three magnificent images of Christ, the Primicerio of the church hands the personal banner of the saint, the so-called Vexillum Sancti Marci, to his master the Doge; in (for example) Venetian coins and medallions of the period Christ (on the reverse) still dominates, but the figure of the Doge (on the obverse) is now accompanied not by the Primicerio but by an image of St. Mark. Thus, in the actual ceremony, the Primicerio may be seen merely as representing the Evangelist: it is, in the last resort, St. Mark himself who, in the presence of the Almighty, presents his standard to his own chosen representative and successor, the Doge of Venice.¹⁴⁹

Sarpi advances a further, quite independent argument, which has been analysed in some depth by W.J. Bouwsma.¹⁵⁰ Pervading the writings of the monk, says Bouwsma, is a certain sense of human limitation, a belief that human reason alone is incapable of passing from the particulars of life to truths of a more general nature. Hence, his insistence that the truths of Christianity can be approached only through faith; and hence also his belief in the need to tolerate all religious differences, if only because any rational, coherent and systematic definition of the Faith is equally beyond human capability. Accordingly, he justifies the actions of individual churches (in this case, the Venetian) in attempting to decide for themselves on matters of ecclesiastical policy, even when this places them in obvious conflict with the (national) Church of Rome. And, on a more "personal" level, he arrives at the conclusion which is to dominate his entire concept of the ideal relationship between Church and State within a truly Republican constitution: the fundamental importance of the individual lay believer. If, as Sarpi claims, the ultimate authority of the Church resides in this fortunate individual or, collectively, in the entire lay community, then the duly elected leader of that community must undoubtedly be seen not only as head of the State, but

as head of the local Church as well. Hence, the generalized theory, similar to that expressed above, that the Doges - the elected leaders of Venice (the only State in Italy to maintain a Republican constitution) - have been delegated by God to govern both the temporal and the spiritual on behalf of the community, and that they may intervene in all ecclesiastical affairs "(. . .) non come principi e potestà politiche, ma come fidei e rappresentanti l'università de' fidei." ¹⁵¹

The Doge, however, is not to be regarded as a sacred person - if, indeed, almost so. ¹⁵² He is merely a "representative", primus inter pares among a Christian community, and his power derives solely from the religiosity of that community and from its Christian history. It is, indeed, upon the sacral nature of the community, rather than that of its leader, that Venetian political theorists of the 16th century choose to concentrate their efforts - in fact, it might well be said that by the time of the Counter-Reformation the first, relatively mild assertions of writers such as Martino da Canale (mid 13th century) and Doge Andrea Dandolo (mid 14th century) ¹⁵³ had burgeoned into a complete and fully autonomous system in which almost every aspect of the city's political life and traditions has been invested with divine characteristics. Venetian guide-books, political and historical writings and ambassadorial Relazioni ¹⁵⁴ of the period frequently do honour to the "spiritual" excellence of the Republic. But most informative from this point of view are undoubtedly the laudatory Orazioni, congratulatory speeches read before a newly elected Doge by representatives from the cities and towns of the Republic's domain. ¹⁵⁵ As public statements, these must surely have been carefully vetted beforehand, and should thus provide a fairly accurate picture of official thinking. They do, at any rate, exhibit a remarkable degree of homogeneity in their choice of both topics and key-notes.

Typically, the plan runs as follows. The Orator, addressing himself to the fully assembled Collegio, would sing the praises of the Senators, the Doge's family and the Doge himself; he would then indulge in a eulogy of Venice and her government, on which basis he would demonstrate the dignity of the Doge's office; and finally, he would mention the town which he represented and his own, professedly humble rank. He would resist every temptation to vary this scheme. Nor, indeed, would he display much personal initiative where means of expression were concerned. Generally, that is, he would avoid all complicated allegory; and his references to the more distant realms of classical mythology,

although by no means totally absent, would be heavily outnumbered by those to God, Christ and other familiar biblical personages. By means of the latter, he would attempt to compare the history and institutions of the terrestrial city, Venice, with those of the kingdom of heaven. And this comparison might, in turn, take any of four, mutually inclusive directions. It might touch upon the idea of a divine origin for the city: "(. . .) questa Santissima, et da le mani d'Iddio (. . .) fondata Republica" ¹⁵⁶ has been conceived, as we have seen, on the same date as Christ (on the Feast of the Annunciation, AD 421) and is thus open to interpretation as everything but a Second Coming. ¹⁵⁷ It might illustrate the divinely inspired constitution and laws of the Republic: ¹⁵⁸ Venice as "(. . .) una Effigie, una Imagine della Republica celeste, et divina", ¹⁵⁹ regulated by supreme virtue and tempered by justice, honour and mercy. It might pursue the theme of the Venetians as a Chosen People: successors, indeed, to the Jews, ¹⁶⁰ with a special, God-sent mission as defenders of Church, Faith and freedom in Italy. ¹⁶¹ Or it might draw some conclusions from Venetian history: Venice as a free and virgin (unconquered) city, the recipient of special, heavenly guidance and protection. ¹⁶² In sum, and in the words of Giovandomenico Roncale of Rovigo, it would extol the Serenissima Republica as "(. . .) un degno simulacro di divinità, da non esser giamai in vano nomata, anzi come cosa sacra da ciascun riverita, e s'egli è lecito, in terra adorarla." ¹⁶³

None of these ideas are unique to Venice: ¹⁶⁴ what is so interesting here, however, is the vigour and clarity of their exposition, not least when viewed against the complex background of Counter-Reformation "politics". It can hardly, indeed, be coincidence, that the years of the Council of Trent saw the first publication (in 1562) of Venetian Orazioni: ¹⁶⁵ a publication which, together with the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale of two years later, provides ample evidence of the antiquity and unbroken tradition of sacral power in the city. And if any additional proof of the latter were required, it was not to be long in coming. In the years immediately ahead, as we shall shortly see, a number of quite remarkable historical events ¹⁶⁶ were to confirm Venice not only in her customary role as defender of Christendom against the infidel but also in her (almost) unique position as favourite and chosen beneficiary of God.

Before turning to a closer examination of this history, however, one other, equally fundamental question remains to be tackled. How, that is, in any general sense, might such a highly-developed philosophy of the Sacral State in Venice have been reflected in the musico-liturgical life of the State Basilica of St. Mark? The (liturgical) texts of the surviving polyphonic repertory can scarcely in themselves provide the answer: most of these are older than even the earliest sacral theories of Venice, and in any case almost none of them is properly Venetian. Examination of ducal ceremonial might, at first glance, seem more promising: but although mostly later in origin¹⁶⁷ and Venetian in inspiration,¹⁶⁸ there appear to be few links of political significance between ceremonial rubrics and ceremonial music. Clearly, then, if any such links do exist, they will be more in the way of interpretation than of hard fact. And here, the guide-book Venetia Città Nobilissima (. . .) of Francesco Sansovino has some useful advice. Speaking of the many religious processions made annually by Doge and government to various parts of the city, its author notes how "(. . .) fu sempre costume de' nostri d'accompagnar le cose temporali con la religione [and, by implication, vice-versa]." ¹⁶⁹ This statement, as we know, ¹⁷⁰ might be applied with equal validity to much of the Venetian liturgical year (even though, for the most part, the saints to be honoured were those of the Roman calendar) and to several of the specifically Venetian texts in the local, ducal liturgy. Let us, then, formulate a hypothesis, parallel to the above, but of greater potential for a study of the music: namely, that the other liturgical texts of St. Mark's, even when they corresponded exactly to Roman usage, would be interpreted by the Venetians in such a way as to focus attention not only upon their faith and upon their loyalty to the Catholic Church but also upon their own, local, politico-religious aspirations and historical circumstances. Presumably, on the greatest politico-religious occasions, any text which could fulfil these liturgical and political requirements might be set aside for emphasis through festive, musical setting.¹⁷¹ And presumably, it would be in the early decades of the Counter-Reformation - those of greatest external pressure on Venetian liturgy and ecclesiastical institutions - that we might expect to find the phenomenon at its height.

To recapitulate, then, the most significant dates:

- 1563: The Council of Trent recommends the establishing of a single Catholic liturgy in place of the many local rites which had grown up through the Middle Ages. All local liturgies of less than 200 years standing are to be abolished in favour of the Roman.
- 1564: The Venetians prepare their considered reply: the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, which lays out the unique ceremonial of the Church of San Marco, and demonstrates its great antiquity.
- 1568: The launching of the new Tridentine Breviary is accompanied by a Papal Bull, Quod a nobis, which effectively suppresses all existing local Breviaries of less than 200 years antiquity.
- 1570: The launching of the new Tridentine Missal is accompanied by a further Bull, Quo primum tempore, which likewise suppresses all existing local Missals of less than the required antiquity.

It is from the following year, 1571, that we can begin to trace a political history of Venice in liturgical music.

B. A HISTORY OF VENICE IN LITURGICAL MUSIC, 1571 - 1612.

1. The War of Cyprus, 1570 - 1573.

The greatness of Venice was founded upon her trade. Situated at the head of the Adriatic, her position was ideally suited to the exploitation of all the important Mediterranean sea routes, and her ships journeyed regularly not only to the great ports of north Africa but also as far afield as England and Flanders.¹⁷² Traditionally, however, the most profitable sources of her wealth lay to the east - wood from Dalmatia, spices, gems and drugs from Asia, metal-work, silk and cloth of gold from Constantinople and Greece, to name but a few¹⁷³ - and it was this, together with the empire she had established in the Levant for the support and protection of her merchant fleet, which was bound to lead eventually to conflict with the Ottoman dynasty, itself intent on expansion. Early skirmishes were resolved largely in Venetian favour. But in 1453, the final collapse of Constantinople to the Turk brought an irrevocable shift in the balance of power between the two nations, and never again was the small Italian State in a position to thwart the military ambitions of an enemy many times more powerful than herself.¹⁷⁴ From this point onwards, her policy in the region becomes one of appeasement: the maintenance, at almost any political cost, of a shaky peace which would leave her to pursue her commercial interests more or less unimpeded.

War, however, was sometimes inevitable. In March, 1570, for example, Sultan Selim II sent to Venice to demand the unconditional surrender of the colony of Cyprus and, while the home government explored the usual diplomatic channels - in this case, the formation of a Grand Christian, anti-Turkish Alliance¹⁷⁵ - proceeded to land troops on the island and to lay siege both to Famagusta and to the capital Nicosia. By September, the latter had already fallen:¹⁷⁶ a fleet sent jointly by Venice, Spain and the Pope for its relief had ventured no further than Crete where it had broken up amid confusion and jealousy.¹⁷⁷ The Venetians, however, with little now to lose, continued to negotiate with their would-be allies and in May, 1571, reached further agreement, in the form of yet another Most Holy and Perpetual League.¹⁷⁸ On July 2nd, feast of Visitatio B.M.V., the new

accord was broadcast to the citizens and solemnized in the Ducal Chapel. The Piazza San Marco was adorned with the most sumptuous displays of tapestries and flowers.¹⁷⁹ And inside the church, the picture was similar: relics, festoons and silverware, alongside the banners and emblems of the three main participants in the League, Spain, Rome and Venice.¹⁸⁰ Mass was attended by Doge and Signoria, the six Scuole Grandi, the members of the numerous brotherhoods of friars and priests in the city¹⁸¹ - and, as the following description shows, by the musicians:

"(. . .) lo Ambasciatore del Rè [di Spagna] il quale è Vescovo, cantò la messa con tutte le solennità possibili, di apparato, et di musica, (. . .) et quasi finita la messa, si cominciò la processione, la quale fu una delle rare, che sia fatta in questa Città, già molti anni, come dicono molti vecchi (. . .)." 182

Although this, in common with all other contemporary accounts of the proceedings,¹⁸³ gives no specific information on the actual music performed, it seems reasonable to speculate that the latter included a polyphonic setting of the Ordinary, perhaps with double-choir Litanies in procession¹⁸⁴ and further vocal music at the Offertory or at the Elevation.¹⁸⁵ However, only one large-scale Venetian Mass composition of the period has been preserved: and this, as we shall see, was almost certainly composed in 1585 for another great State occasion, the reception of four Christian converts from Japan.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, a six-part Ordinary, by Andrea Gabrieli, appropriately entitled Missa Vexilla Regis prodeunt (The [military] standards of the king come forth), has survived; as, indeed, have several Concerti which set texts from the Proper; one of which, Andrea Gabrieli's six-part setting of the Marian hymn O gloriosa Domina, may well be related to the event.¹⁸⁷ The text contains none of the references to war which one might expect to find on such an occasion (the Marian liturgy has little in common with that in tempore belli) and was, in the Tridentine liturgy at least, used fairly regularly at Lauds in connection with

the various feasts and commemorations of the Blessed Virgin.¹⁸⁸ But at San Marco, its scope was more restricted: local liturgical books assign it to four feasts only, Visitatio B.M.V., Dedicatio S.Mariae ad Nives (August 5th), Assumptio B.M.V. (August 15th) and S.Catherina (November 24th).¹⁸⁹ On all of these commemorations the presence of the singers was required.¹⁹⁰ On only two, however, - the most important, the Assumption and the Visitation - is it in any way possible that they would have participated annually in the performance of large-scale, festive music;¹⁹¹ and on only one - the Visitation, 1571 - is it recorded that their performance was accompanied by occasional ceremonial of any extraordinary dimensions. Bearing in mind, then, the decidedly "occasional" connotations of the word Concerto (although, as we saw in Chapter I, the word may also be applied to music for the very greatest liturgical commemorations), it is with some justification - if also, indeed, reservation - that we include O gloriosa Domina among the "solennità (. . .) di musica" apparently conceived for this special event.

ONCE AGAIN, then, the Venetian galleys moved southwards, first to Messina where they were to await the arrival of the Spanish and Papal fleets, then, after further delays (during which time Famagusta finally capitulated to a long-suffering enemy), on to Lepanto where the Ottoman armament was known to lie at anchor.¹⁹² Battle commenced on October 7th. The result: after five hours' bitter struggle, an outright victory for the Christians, with an estimated Turkish loss of 150 ships and 30,000 men. Although this came too late for Cyprus, it did nevertheless represent a success of major proportions for Venice. Not only had she herself been the pioneering spirit behind the Christian League but her galleys, in the event, had accounted for over half the victorious allied total. Thus, when twelve days later a dispatch boat entered the lagoon, Turkish flags trailing from her stern and turbans piled upon her deck, the whole city broke out in waves of jubilation. The victory was celebrated in banquets, bonfires and the clamour of artillery;¹⁹³ order went out that the bells of the city be sounded continuously for three days;¹⁹⁴ and in San Marco itself, Doge and Senators met to render thanks unto God:

" [October 19th. After the official proclamation of victory,] Sua Serenità con il (. . .) Collegio discese alla Chiesa di San Marco (. . .) et da Reverendissimo Ambasciatore [di Spagna fu] intonato il Te Deum, et seguito poi da (. . .) Canonici, et musici consueti, et finito [fu] cantata una messa (. . .)." 195

" [October 21st.] Il Prencipe con la Signoria, et molta nobiltà (. . .) andò la Domenica in Chiesa [di San Marco], ove fù celebrata una Messa Solennissima del Spirito Santo cantata dall' (. . .) Ambasciator [di Spagna] nellaquale si fecero concerti divinissimi, perchè sonandosi quando l'uno, e quando l'altro organo con ogni sorte di stromenti, e di voci, conspirarono ambi à un tempo in un tuono, che veramente pareva, che s'aprissero le cataratte dell'harmonia celeste, et ella diluviasse da i chori Angelici." 196

" [October 28th.] La Domenica seguente fù similmente fatta un'altra solennità spirituale sendo cantata la Messa dal sudetto Ambasciator (. . .)." 197

Following fast upon the heels of these official solemnities came the more popular of the organized Feste and Trionfi. The first was staged by the Germans outside their business house at Rialto: "(. . .) sino alle cinque hore di notte di continuo s'udiva suono di tamburi, di trombe squarciate, e di piffari, e sopra i pergoli diversi bei concerti di musica (. . .)." 198 The second, an even more sumptuous production, was mounted some days later by the silk weavers of the city: "(. . .) divini concerti, (. . .) mascherate con musiche di liuti e d'altri stromenti, sollazzieri con torze, (. . .) lo strepito dell'artiglierie (. . .)" 199 and, in the market place at Rialto, a day of religious rite and ceremony:

"La prima mattina fù cantata sopra un palco drizzato dinanzi la chiesa di San Giacomo [di Rialto] una Messa solenne con musiche rare. Detta terza si fece la processione co'l Crocifisso inanzi precedendo tamburi, trombe squarciate, e piffari, e drieto seguendo un lungo ordine di Sacerdoti, di Cantori, e di mercanti. I dopo desinari si cantava Vespero con le musiche istesse, che principiava su'l tardo, e finiva su le due hore di notte." 200

All these ceremonies, of course, served principally as opportunities for the mass public display of joy and gratitude: the offering of "(. . .) gratie a Dio di tanto gran bene."²⁰¹ But it would be quite naïve to imagine this as their only function. The very raison d'être of the War of Cyprus had been the Turkish invasion of Venetian land; and now Venetian ships themselves had proved the mainstay of the victorious Christian fleet. Lepanto, in fact, had been a decidedly Venetian victory, and if we wish to understand the ceremonies (and their music) in the most complete sense possible it is to an examination of the nature of this victory and its significance for the development of local, politico-religious theory that we must turn. The first vital clue comes from the title of a musical Rappresentazione performed in the Ducal Palace on St. Stephen's Day, 1571, as the opening spectacle of Carnival Week: Celio Magno's Trionfo di Christo per la Vittoria contra Turchi.²⁰² The victory, it implies, belongs less to Venice as to Christ himself; the Venetians, and the other members of the Holy Christian League, act merely as his representatives and as representatives of the Christian world at large. Other official interpretations are more specific. A painting in the Collegio of the Ducal Palace depicts an imaginary ceremony in which Doge Alvise Mocenigo (1570-77) who stands for the Venetian Signoria as a whole, gives thanks before Christ for some special favour received.²⁰³ St. Mark, the government patron, acts as intermediary; Victory is there in the lower left; Christ, who descends in a blaze of light, makes a gesture as if to embrace St. Mark and the Doge; and, in the bottom centre directly underneath the figure of Mocenigo, the everpresent lion holds out his open book to reveal the words "Pax tibi, Marce, Evangelista meus",²⁰⁴ which are made to look like the title of the entire picture. The underlying idea: it is Christ who has conceded the victory and who will, in the years ahead, secure a lasting peace not only for St. Mark but also (necessarily) for the Evangelist's chosen resting place, the Serenissima Repubblica of Venice.

Two other works of art are based upon similar iconographical programmes. An Altar Paliotto, commissioned by Mocenigo himself and dated "1571", shows an enthroned Salvator Mundi who, in the presence both of Victory (complete with palm wreath) and S. Giustina

(the local, Paduan, saint on whose annual liturgical commemoration the battle had been won), turns towards the kneeling Doge and gestures as though to bless him.²⁰⁵ And a votive painting of Doge Sebastiano Venier (Mocenigo's successor, 1577-8, and the Venetian General da Mar at Lepanto) portrays him on his knees before the figure of Christ (who blesses him), accompanied by a personification of Venice, S.Giustina and St.Mark, and supported in the background by a flotilla of Christian warships.²⁰⁶ Clearly, the sine qua non for all these pictures is a continuing belief, if only for the purposes of Venetian State propaganda, in the (almost) divine status of Venetian history and institutions. And it may be no exaggeration to suggest that, at a time when this belief was incurring the ever-increasing wrath of Rome, a victory such as Lepanto would have been seized upon by Venetians as providing the ultimate proof of God's unflagging love for their maiden city. Lepanto, in fact, could be made to demonstrate two crucial themes: that of the Venetians as a Chosen People, with a special, God-sent mission as defenders of the Christian Faith, and that of Venice as the actual recipient of heavenly guidance and protection. Both are apparent in the official pictures. And both figure prominently in the first of the celebrative victory Concerti, Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth²⁰⁷ whose text hails Venice (1) as the latter-day successor to Gideon, Samson and (presumably) the entire Jewish tradition, (2) like Christ (by way of the opening words, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Benedicti qui pugnant in nomine Domini", with their unmistakable allusion to the Sanctus-Benedictus section of the Mass²⁰⁸) as the messenger of God:

"Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Benedicti qui pugnant in nomine Domini. Manus enim Domini fortis et terribilis: manus Domini pugnat pro eis, manus Domini protegit illos. Pugnavit Sanson, pugnavit Gedeon: vicit Sanson, vicit Gedeon. Pugnaverunt nostri in nomine Domini: pugnavit Dominus pro nobis, et vicit Dominus inimicos eius. Laetamini et exultate et psallite." ²⁰⁹

With this in mind, it is but a short step to assign one of the fully liturgical Concerti - Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part O Salutaris Hostia²¹⁰ - to the same Lepanto festivities:

"O Salutaris Hostia,
Quae caeli pandis ostium:
Bella praemunt hostilia,
Da robur, fer auxilium." 211

The text - a prayer to Christ for holy strength and aid - fulfils every possible politico-liturgical requirement of the occasion.²¹² On the one hand, it serves in the liturgy as the first verse of a simple Benediction chant for use, ad libitum, throughout the year;²¹³ on the other, it vividly recalls the iconography of the official Lepanto commemorative paintings in which Christ is seen to bestow his blessing, and victory, upon a grateful Doge and people. Thus, if our initial hypothesis (see above, p.42) is correct, a perfectly ordinary text from the age-old Christian liturgy has come to represent the complicated sacral aspirations of a Counter-Reformation Republic. A supposedly holy history finds its natural expression in the Holy Liturgy. And through this liturgy, the State proclaims its undiminished love for God and for his Holy Catholic Church.

THUS ENDED Phase One of the Lepanto victory celebrations. But it was not many days before permission had been granted to another group of merchants, the jewellers, haberdashers and Tuscan silk merchants, to mount jointly their own display: a display to be held, once again, at Rialto, and to be planned on a scale which would fall not far short of that of the earlier events. Festivities thus recommenced in late November. As before, the scene was set by tapestries, carpets, sculptures and paintings;²¹⁴ "(. . .) le musiche [profane] vi furono senza intermissione, tutte rare et elette";²¹⁵ and, on November 30th, came a further day of thanks unto God:

"Di Santo Andrea, quel glorioso giorno
La Messa, e'l Vespro si cantò solenne
Con tante torcie, et altri lumi intorno,
Che tutta la Cittade à veder venne:
Quindi si vedde in un bel quadro adorno
Il Barbarigo, che morte sostenne,
Per mantener la fe del Redentore
C'hor vive in ciel con più felice honore.

Del gran Veniero, il bel ritratto anchora
Armato vidi con lo settro in mano;
Lo Strozzi poi, che tutta Europa honora,
E vidi in tela il gran Duca Thoscano." 216

The author of this banal piece of doggerel is clearly partisan. He omits all mention of the Venetian church where the ceremony was held, yet specifically mentions the portraits of two of the Florentine leaders not actually present at Lepanto. Filippo Strozzi was, however, at least active in the struggle against the Turk, if only as a naval commander in the defence of Malta, 1566.²¹⁷ And the name of Cosimo I de' Medici could hardly be omitted from any festivity under the patronage of Tuscans. In terms of the victory itself, however, the other two portraits mentioned are clearly more important. The first is that of the Venetian Provveditore Generale, Marcantonio Barbarigo, who died heroically in battle,²¹⁸ the other is of Sebastiano Venier, the victorious Generale da Mar of the same.²¹⁹ And Barbarigo, at least, has been cast in the rôle of a Christian martyr: a holy warrior, one of the prime representatives of his country's holy cause.

As before, then, the sacral implications of Venetian history would appear to have been pushed strongly to the fore. It is therefore interesting to note that in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) there lies another, perfectly liturgical text which not only describes almost exactly the historical situation but also provides an ideal commentary on the "portraiture" of the poem. It is the six-part Isti sunt triumphatores,²²⁰ the fifth Matins Respond (without Verset) in the Commune Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum,²²¹ a liturgy which, although not actually used on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (who has a liturgy of his own), is none the less appropriate:

"Isti sunt triumphatores et amici Dei qui contemntes
iussa principum meruerunt praemia aeterna: modo
coronantur et accipiunt palmam." 222

The "triumphatores" and "amici Dei" are, if our theory is correct, the Venetians Barbarigo and Venier; they have defied and conquered the might of the Turk; and now, in heaven (in the case of Barbarigo at least), they are presented with the palm wreath, the traditional symbol of Christian martyrdom and victory.

THE FOLLOWING YEAR, on November 9th, a triumphant Veniero returned to Venice: "(. . .) incontrato dall'universale della Nobiltà, Cittadinanza, e del popolo (. . .) et ricevuto [in Piazzetta S.Marco] con grande allegrezza, et giubilo quasi incredibile."²²³

Amid the tumult of "(. . .) trombe da guerra, piffari, e tamburi",²²⁴ the company made its way towards San Marco:

"(. . .) ad udir la Messa, (. . .) che fu celebrata con gran divotione, et solennità, da quel Choro, che quasi si può dir Angelico, per le voci, e per gli ordini ammirabili, e divini, e dilettevolissimi concerti, che si viddero, et udirono, con la giuditiosa inventione del (. . .) Iseppo Cerlino Maestro di Capella (. . .)."225

Zarlino's music does not, however, appear to have survived.²²⁶ We shall therefore proceed without further comment to the next of the occasional events.

THE VENETIANS, in fact, had done well to celebrate their victory while they could. With the Turk and Mediterranean apparently at their mercy, the most important of their allies, Philip II of Spain, decided unilaterally to switch his attention to more pressing matters at home;²²⁷ thus, while Venice awaited the quelling of an anti-Spanish rebellion in the Low Countries, the Turk had begun immediately to rebuild his broken fleet, and within a year had constructed an armament of even greater strength than that which had sailed before Lepanto. Repeated pleas from Venice for the reconstitution of a Christian League met with nothing but the continuing "best wishes" of Spain. And so the Senate, feeling itself abandoned by its former allies, and now in almost daily fear of further Turkish raids on Dalmatia, Candia and even nearby Friuli, finally determined to seek its own separate Peace with the enemy. A delegation was duly dispatched to Constantinople where, on March 7th, 1573, a treaty was signed. The Turk was to cease all acts of aggression against Venetian lands. Venice, in return, was to renounce all claim on Cyprus and was, among other things, to pay the not inconsiderable sum of 300,000 ducats against the restitution of her lands in Albania and Schiavonia and against Turkish losses in the war. In short, it seemed as though Selim, and not the Holy League, had won the battle of October 7th.

The news of the secret Peace was to anger many would-be friends of Venice, not least the Pope, who declared it a betrayal of the Christian faith and cause. Even within the city itself the deal was not without its critics. But the Senate stood firm: there was little

to be done without the immediate, and concrete, help of Spain and Rome. For once, however, it made little real attempt to solemnize a "great" political achievement in occasional religious ceremony. Only the two crimson-coloured Banners of State which traditionally headed processions in time of war were now superseded by their pure-white counterparts - the corresponding symbols of peace.²²⁸ And perhaps, some weeks later, on Easter Day, a special "Peace" Concerto would have been performed? - one such as Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part Expurgate vetus fermentum,²²⁹ in which the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is seen as bringing an end to anger, wickedness and (figuratively speaking) war:

"Expurgate vetus fermentum: ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.

Itaque epulemur non in fermento veteri, neque in fermento malitiae: sed in azymis synceritatis et veritatis." 230

The text - proper both to Easter Sunday and to Feria III within its Octave²³¹ - brings together the opposing concepts of "fermenta vetus [et] malitiae" ("the old leaven" and "the leaven of wickedness"), and azyme, the Jewish unleavened, or unrisen, bread. On the one hand, we have fermentation, agitation, passion, wickedness and anger; on the other, sincerity, truth, stillness and peace. In Biblical terms, the sinfulness of man has been contrasted with his possible redemption through the sacrifice of Christ. And in terms of Venetian history (if our hypothesis is correct), the four long years of Turkish war have been set against the newly-found, honourable peace, gained through the sacrifice of Christian lives.

To end with, however, a word of caution is necessary. Easter Day at Venice had its own individual and highly elaborate ceremonial which, occurring as it does at the most crucial point in the entire Proprium de Tempore, would have remained entirely unaffected by extraneous happenings of any kind - Holy Leagues, victories and treaties included. Hence, we do not find, nor should we expect to find, any references to the Treaty of 1573 in State Ceremonial books and published Descrizioni: our only evidence for a "Peace" dimension

to the present ceremony is, in fact, provided by the correlation of liturgical and historical dates, and by the survival of a large-scale, appropriately texted Concerto. It is to be hoped, however, that the many such historico-liturgico-textual coincidences which continue throughout the 1570's to characterize the musical life of St. Mark's will go some way towards substantiating what is, in the case of Expurgate, mere speculation.

2. The Bubonic Plague, 1575 - 1577.

FOUR YEARS of Holy War, then, had come to a calamitous, if respectable end with heavy loss of Venetian land, life and money. And if there had been those among the Senate who dreamt of swift economic and social recovery, their hopes were quickly dashed by the onslaught of a disaster of even greater proportions: the bubonic plague of 1575-7.²³² The disease was not unknown in Venice, where twelve separate outbreaks had occurred in the previous hundred years alone. But in terms of sheer ferocity this latest epidemic was quite unrivalled. Cornelio Morello, an official in the Ministry of Public Health, estimated the total dead at a conservative 50,000 - some 30% of the population - while, according to the doctor Giancarlo Sivos, the two years of plague accounted for "(. . .) huomini più di 22,000, donne più di 37,000, putti et putte più di 12,000, nobili venetiani più di 150, medici et chirurghi più di 40, preti più di 123 (. . .) nella città sola di Venetia." ²³³ The commercial life of the city also suffered badly as a direct result of the pestilence. Foreign powers and local towns alike were not slow to impose embargoes, and within Venice itself heavy restrictions on the cloth industry and on the gathering of crowds (at schools, taverns, entertainments and so on) did nothing to ease a serious crisis of unemployment. Despite valiant efforts at poor-relief, many thousands must have died of little more than starvation: the plague had enormous power to impoverish, and to kill, by cutting the normal threads of people's economic life.

With the epidemic at its height, and all medical remedies having failed, the Senate had little option but recourse to God. Thus, when in 1576 Pope Gregory XIII sent a Jubilee²³⁴ for the particular benefit of the Serenissima Repubblica, the latter was not slow to take advantage: having first obtained the necessary Papal dispensation,

"(. . .) il Sermo P[rincipe] si conclusse (. . .) con tutto'l Collegio, li Avvogadori di Commun, Capi del Cons^o di X, et Censori, et li Secretarij, visitar (. . .) le quattro chiese deputate [per il Giubileo], cioè San Marco, San Pietro a Castello, San Giovanni e Paulo, et San Zacharia (. . .) per tre giorni, cioè a 12, 21 et 23 che fu il lunedì, il mercoledì, et il venerdì del mese di Marzo." ²³⁵

Religious ceremonies in tempore pestis were hardly new to 16th-century man who, following an age-old biblical tradition, ²³⁶ looked upon the plague as nothing less than an instrument of divine justice: as a reprisal for his sins against the will of God. ²³⁷

Yet, in the hands of contemporary Venetians, such a belief - albeit widely held - could take on special significance. Clearly, God had forsaken his Chosen People. And equally clearly, he must have his reasons. What better moment, then, to ask his forgiveness than in penitential Lent? March 12th, 1576, in fact, fell on Feria II infra Hebdom. I Quadragesimae. And it is precisely for this opening period of Lent that Andrea Gabrieli has composed his six-part Concerto, Emendemus in melius: ²³⁸ the prayer of the sinner, fearful of imminent death, who - whichever the context, plague or Quadragesima - pleads for mercy, indulgence and deliverance from eternal damnation. Perhaps the inclusion of this work in a collection devoted to essentially "occasional" (as we saw in Chapter I) Concerti is not totally by chance.

"Emendemus in melius, quae ignoranter peccavimus: ne subito praeoccupati die mortis, quaeramus spatium poenitentiae, et invenire non possimus. Attende, Domine, et miserere, quia peccavimus tibi." ²³⁹

DESPITE both Papal Jubilee and Jubilee Concerto, however, the incidence of plague continued to grow. And so, on September 4th, 1576, the Senate embarked upon an act of quite remarkable faith: by unanimous decision, it was decided that "(. . .) si edificerà una chiesa a laude, et gloria sua [that is, of God] intitolata al Redentor Nostro, et che ogn'anno nel giorno, che questa città sarà publicata libera dal presente contagio, sua Serenità et li successori suoi anderà solenemente a visitar la predetta chiesa, a perpetua memoria del beneficio ricevuto." ²⁴⁰ There followed several days of

public ceremonial, dedicated to the solemnization of the vow. On September 6th and 7th, Doge and Signoria attended Low Mass in San Marco, celebrated by the Primicerio of the church, and accompanied by the singers who performed the Litanies "(. . .) musicalmente a due chori." ²⁴¹ And next day, September 8th, feast of Nativitas B.M.V., the news was formally broadcast to the waiting people: this done, and prayers having been said for the deliverance of the city from plague, "(. . .) si cominciò la messa, la qual fu solennemente celebrata, e cantata musicalmente." ²⁴² What, however, was the identity of this music? Textual analysis of the contemporary Concerti repertory reveals there a single liturgically appropriate work: a work, moreover, whose contrasts of "maledictio" and "benedictio", "mors" and "vita sempiterna" would have lent it added poignancy in time of plague:

"Nativitas tua, Dei genitrix virgo, gaudium annuntiavit universo mundo: ex te enim ortus est sol iustitiae, Christus, Deus noster: qui solvens maledictionem dedit benedictionem, et confundens mortem donavit nobis vitam sempiternam." ²⁴³

The politico-religious implications of this text - Christ, it says, has triumphed over sin and death and has thus won redemption, and eternal life, for mankind - are not without parallel in several other branches of contemporary Venetian culture. An officially inspired painting, attributed to Palma il Giovane, shows a plague-ridden people, with Doge and Signoria praying fervently before the Risen Christ who appears among the clouds. ²⁴⁴ A miniature from a Venetian Mariegola, or Statute Book, which dates from July, 1577, the month in which the city was officially declared free from infection, shows the newly-risen Christ standing upon his grave, accompanied by SS. Roch and Sebastian (the two most typical intercessors against plague) and holding high his so-called Banner of the Cross (the traditional symbol of his victory over sin and death). ²⁴⁵ And the new votive church, as we have seen, was to bear the dedication "al Redentor Nostro", just as the statue which was eventually to rest upon its dome was to show the Resurrected Christ, again with banner in hand. Once again, then, as we saw in connection with the victory of Lepanto, the fundamentally sacral nature of Venetian State philosophy

has been reflected right across the spectrum of government-sponsored culture: from painting (large-scale and small) to statuary, from the decision to found the new, Redentore "plague church" to the choice of Nativitas tua as the liturgical text most worthy of musical emphasis on the occasion of the solemnization of the vow.

IN THE MONTHS which followed its initial decision the Senate went through the necessary processes of choosing a location for the new church and deciding among the plans submitted by the various architects. Competition, however, was fierce, and the debate often heated, so that although the epidemic had largely subsided by Christmas it was not until well into 1577 that work at the new site on the Giudecca²⁴⁶ could even begin. A date for the Foundation ceremony was finally agreed. On May 3rd, feast of Inventio Sanctae Crucis, the Doge and his retinue crossed by boat to the Giudecca: first to the Church of Santa Croce where the Patriarch of Venice officiated at Mass, then further along the island "(. . .) con li preti, et cantori di S.Marco (. . .)"²⁴⁷ to the spot where they were to lay the first stone of the Tempio del Santissimo Redentore. Unfortunately, the single official description of the event is much more concerned with matters of ducal ceremonial and protocol than with detailed information on the precise activities of the singers. But clearly the latter were present throughout, and on such a solemn occasion as this it is hardly conceivable that Mass should have been celebrated without them. May we suggest, then, that their music included an eight-part setting by Andrea Gabrieli of the Antiphon O Crux, splendidior? - the only work in the entire repertory of large-scale Venetian music which is proper to commemorations of the Holy Cross:²⁴⁸

"O Crux, splendidior cunctis astris, mundo celebris,
hominibus multum amabilis, sanctior universis: quae
sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi: dulce
lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera: salva
praesentem catervam in tuis hodie laudibus congregatam.
Alleluia." ²⁴⁹

In our discussion of the previous Concerto, we remarked upon the prominence of the Risen Christ, il Redentore (the name of the church), in Venetian plague iconography of the 1570's. And we saw also how the Cross had traditionally been worshipped as an essential

symbol of the victory of Christ the Redeemer over sin and death (and hence, disease). These ideas, inherent as they were in the text of Nativitas tua, nevertheless find their most direct expression in the ceremony of May 3rd, where they penetrate to almost every aspect of the occasion. Firstly, to the liturgy and to the date: apart from Resurrection Day itself, no other feast in the entire Christian calendar could be more appropriate as the basis of a Redeemer-plague invocation than the Inventio Sanctae Crucis (or its sister festival the Exaltatio, September 14th). Secondly, to the venue: it can hardly be coincidence that the celebrative Mass which preceded the Foundation ceremony proper should have been held in a church which bears the dedication "Santa Croce". And finally, to the Concerto itself: the Cross is extolled in terms such as "quae sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi", and at the climax comes the unmistakably topical prayer "salva praesentem catervam in tuis hodie laudibus congregatam", all the more potent when we remember that almost two years after the initial outbreak of the plague it was continuing to claim Venetian lives.²⁵⁰

MIRACLES, however, were always possible - and nowhere more so than in the Celestial City of Venice where, just two months later, a delighted Senate met to proclaim its people free. The glory, naturally, it rendered unto God; thus, in fulfilment of the second clause of the Redentore vow (and in full accordance with all other aspects of sacral State philosophy), it further decided that "(. . .) ogni anno la terza domenica de luio se vadi cum procession solenne alla Zuecha alla giesia del Redentore."²⁵¹ Although this, essentially, was to be a liturgical commemoration,²⁵² the first of the annual ceremonies (that of July 21st, 1577) had something of the character of an occasional event.²⁵³ It revolved around a magnificent procession to the site of the Redentore Church-to-be. A bridge to the Giudecca was built upon a line of eighty wooden boats; the Piazza San Marco was adorned with the banners, tapestries and other forms of decoration reserved for the greatest occasions only; and in the midst of all a special painting, possibly commissioned with the eventual Liberation ceremony in mind, featured "(. . .) sù nel Cielo l'Eterno Redentore, che pregato da un lato da genuflessa Donzella [probably a personification of Venice] et dall'altro del Beato San Rocco [the healer saint], benedicesse lo afflitto gregge."²⁵⁴ Doge, Signoria, Scuole Grandi

and Religious Confraternities proceeded in orderly succession, accompanied by the less than orderly sounds of "(. . .) tamburi, trombe, voci di popolo, et [in these exceptionally joyful circumstances] artiglierie." ²⁵⁵ And, as always, the procession was completed by the "(. . .) preti del coro, et cantori [di S.Marco]", ²⁵⁶ who performed "(. . .) le letanie a doi cori". ²⁵⁷ Undoubtedly, large-scale music had also figured prominently in the "solennissima messa" ²⁵⁸ celebrated beforehand in the Ducal Basilica by the Patriarch of Venice - a fact which, were it not immediately apparent from the liturgical ("solennissima") terminology used, would at least have been strongly suggested by the presence of two suitably textured Concerti in the contemporary musical repertory. Both draw their inspiration from the regular Sunday liturgy apparently used on the occasion, and both are centred upon the not untropical themes of sin, punishment and forgiveness:

"Domine Deus meus, in te speravi: saluum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me et libera me:

Ne quando rapiat ut leo animam meam, dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum faciat.

Domine Deus meus, si feci istud, si est iniquitas in manibus meis,

Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis." ²⁵⁹

"Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem?
Usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me?

Quandiu ponam consilia in anima mea, dolorem in corde meo per diem?

Usquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me?

Respice et exaudi me, Domine Deus meus." ²⁶⁰

"Saluum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me et libera me", "si est iniquitas in manibus meis (. . .) decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis", "usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem?" and "quandiu ponam consilia in anima mea, dolorem in corde meo per diem?" - either text would have served admirably as an invocation against plague. One, at least, may well be related to the Liberation ceremony. As for the other: there is, it would appear, just one other major occasional event from the period 1564-85 (the years of Andrea Gabrieli's tenure at San Marco) which made use of the same Sunday liturgy and at which

a "penitential" text such as this could realistically have been performed.

3. The presentation of the Golden Rose, Sunday, July 7th, 1577.

Just three weeks earlier, July 1st, 1577, the Papal Nuncio, Annibale Capua, had been received in the city - met, as customary for Roman ambassadors, by a small detachment of Senators, and conducted by them to his lodgings at the Frari monastery.²⁶¹ Three days later, he was granted audience in the Ducal Palace, where he duly presented his credentials and spoke briefly on the favourite Venetian theme of the virtue of Doge and fatherland. For the rest, he was left to his own devices. At no point (Venetian distrust of the Holy See being the dominating factor) was his position as Papal Nuncio given greater-than-usual recognition: if he was indeed escorted by boat to the Palace on July 4th it was only because "(. . .) era quel personaggio (oltra l'esser nontio) che portava la Rosa, non essendo consuetudine mandar li piati [= piatte] per levar li nontij residenti, quando vengono alla prima audientia." ²⁶² And this indifference to his official status appears to have extended into the Golden Rose ceremony itself. Clearly, although happy to accept this symbol of Papal love, the Senate was less than willing to give an impression of subservience either to the Church of Rome or to its representatives in Venice. Hence, at the ceremony of July 7th, public display of jubilation was at a minimum. The procession to San Marco, although attended by the fully assembled government, lacked the "(. . .) stendardi, trombe, spada, et (. . .) altri insegni [trionfali di Stato] " ²⁶³ normally carried on the greatest politico-religious occasions. And inside the church, Mass was celebrated not by the Papal Nuncio - the bearer of the Rose - but by the Ducal Primicerio. That the service was indeed "(. . .) cantata solennemente per la capella" ²⁶⁴ may only, it would appear, be satisfactorily explained through examination of its full dedication: not only, that is, " [pro] sanctae matris Ecclesiae exaltatione", but also "(. . .) pro Christianae Republicae tranquillitate" and, perhaps most significantly, " [pro] pestis liberatione".²⁶⁵ On July 7th, 1577, Venice was

still, officially, plague-bound. Is it, then, too much to suggest that it is in this context of an invocation against plague that we should interpret not only the presence of polyphonic music but also the noticeably penitential leanings of whichever Concerto (Domine, Deus meus or Usquequo), if any, was actually performed?

4. The death of Doge Alvise Mocenigo, June 1577.

Doge Mocenigo, for one, survived the plague. At the healthy age of 70, however, the hand of God could manifest itself in any number of other, equally effective directions, and so it comes as no surprise to find that his death on June 4th, 1577, was caused by little more than the natural consequences of his advancing years. His funeral rites - which lasted four days, until June 8th - were certainly more elaborate than any of those for the thousands of victims of the great epidemic: they included several commemorative ceremonies and orations, and were attended by representatives of all the major institutions of the city.²⁶⁶ Indeed, not even the feast of Corpus Domini, which in 1577 happened to fall on June 6th (that is, in the intervening period between death and burial), appears to have been sufficient to create a lasting diversion. It seems that, even on this occasion of supreme liturgical importance, the Venetians may have seized one last opportunity to honour Mocenigo in a sombre, seven-part Concerto, Iudica me, Deus.²⁶⁷

"Iudica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente
non sancta: ab homine iniquo et doloso erue me.

Quia tu es Deus, fortitudo mea: quare me repulisti?
Et quare tristis incedo, dum affligit me inimicus?" 268

Words not inappropriate in memory of the Doge who had presided over a long and ultimately disastrous campaign against the "iniquus", "dolosus" and "non sanctus" Turk. And the austere, not to say archaic nature of the musical setting would have rendered it particularly suitable for a mournful occasion such as this. Of the seven parts, two make a perfect canon at the 5th, while another carries a long, slow Cantus firmus on the opening words, "Iudica me, Deus", questionably the final utterance of many a devout Venetian Doge. One is inevitably reminded of the seven-part Austria Danubii

of Johannes de Cleve,²⁶⁹ his "Epitaphium in obitum invictissimi et christianissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Divi Ferdinandi [died 1564] Archiducis Austriae", in which similar musical techniques are used: a perfect canon at the 5th in the Quinta and Settima parts, a Cantus firmus to the words "Requiem aeternam (. . .)" in the Cantus secundus.

5. Miscellaneous ceremonies, 1584 - 1603.

Exigencies of space permit us only the briefest of summaries of the many other occasional events which for the remainder of the 16th century (and beyond) continue to characterize the life of the Venetian State Basilica. Some are overtly political, others essentially religious, some (generally the former) of outstanding magnificence, others of quieter tone: all, however, are celebrated, to a greater or lesser degree, in ceremonial music expressly composed for the occasion. Listed chronologically, they are as follows:

1. Reception of some newly discovered relics of the Passion, 1584, and its commemoration.
2. Repatriation of the head of St. Maximus, 1588.
3. Presentation of a Golden Rose to the newly crowned Dogressa of Venice, Morosina Grimani, 1597.
4. Reception of some Holy Relics, Christmas 1597, and its commemoration in a Plenary Indulgence to be held annually on the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th).
5. Celebration of the Franco-Spanish Peace, 1598.
6. League with the Swiss, 1603.

In Venice, the reception of Holy Relics was invariably an occasion for great rejoicing. The triumphant scenes which had accompanied the recovery of a relic of the Holy Cross were depicted around 1500 by Gentile Bellini;²⁷⁰ and when further Passion Relics were added to the already substantial Ducal collection in May 1617 the celebrations included religious processions (with a votive "Messa de Passione Domini") and music to compare with anything of the previous century.²⁷¹ Of the three intermediate ceremonies (listed above), however, we have

rather less information. That of 1588 is recorded not in printed Descrizioni or State Ceremonial books but in a private chronicle: "(. . .) il mercoledì (. . .), che fu adì 23 Novembre, [fu fatta] solenne Procession con tutta la Chieresia de Preti, e Frati, et scole grande, et cantata una solenne messa in Chiesa di S.Marco (. . .)." ²⁷² That of Christmas 1597 is totally unrecorded: were it not for the sudden appearance in 1598 of two motets in honour of St. John the Baptist (for whose feast, on June 24th, an annual commemorative Indulgence had just been proclaimed) the entire event might now pass unnoticed. ²⁷³ And the importance of the Passion Relics received in 1584 may be gauged only from the existence of two later musical settings of a text (O Domine Iesu Christe) in which they are cited explicitly: ²⁷⁴ in this case, however, comparison with the similar relics and the Missa de Passione Domini of 1617 enables us tentatively to assign Andrea Gabrieli's ten-part Concerto, Deus, Deus meus, ²⁷⁵ to the supposed original reception ceremony.

More fully documented are the celebrations of May, 1597, for the presentation of the Golden Rose to the newly crowned Dogress, Morosina Grimani. We learn of the banqueting and dancing, of a procession with "(. . .) ventiquattro huomini (. . .) che sonavano di tamburi, e di trombe, et altri dodici che il simil facevano con piffari, et con trombe corte d'argento (. . .)" ²⁷⁶ and of the music "(. . .) nella Sala del Gran Consiglio (. . .) con buona copia di valentissimi sonatori di Viola, et di Piffari c'hor gli uni, et hor gli altri sonavano (. . .)." ²⁷⁷ Of that for the Golden Rose ceremony itself we have two independent accounts: (1) "(. . .) s'incominciò a cantar Messa, con quella maggiore solennità di cerimonie, e di canti, et suoni, che in sì fatta occasione si ricercava; (. . .) essendo finita la Messa, [fu] detta l'Oratione Deus qui per resurrectionem, dopo l'Antifona Regina caeli laetare, alleluia", ²⁷⁸ and (2) "(. . .) fu cantata la Messa dall' (. . .) legato con musiche et Concerti di angelica eccellenza." ²⁷⁹ Once again, problems of identification are acute, but we can at least suggest that Giovanni Gabrieli's twelve-part Regina caeli laetare, published that same year in the first volume of his Sacrae Symphoniae, ²⁸⁰ was among the large-scale works expressly composed for the occasion. ²⁸¹

After these dizzy heights, the mere procession and Mass of thanksgiving which greeted the Franco-Spanish Peace of 1598 must have come as something of an anticlimax. Even so, from a specifically musical point of view they left little to be desired. Among the contingents of

the Scuole Grandi came scores of richly decorated Carri, many with groups of singers and instrumentalists;²⁸² and inside the church itself:

"(. . .) il Ser^{mo} Prencipe (. . .) con tutta la (. . .) Signoria alle 10 hore (. . .) udì la messa santissima, che fu solennissima, piena di diversi concerti d'instrumenti et voci musicali nobilissimi (. . .)." ²⁸³

"(. . .) fu udita messa, che fu solennemente et molto per tempo cantata." ²⁸⁴

The latter of these descriptions is especially significant. What it implies is that the "concerti" of the former, in contrast to the usual single-texted works, were none other than a large-scale setting of the Ordinary of the Mass, "(. . .) molto per tempo cantata." Unique as this is in the terminology of late 16th and early 17th-century ducal ceremonial, it also accords perfectly with the evidence of the post-1597 musical prints where we find but a single example of such a composition: Giovanni Gabrieli's twelve-part setting of the Kyrie and Sanctus, published posthumously in the Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .) liber secundus of 1615.²⁸⁵

With the celebrations for the League with the Grisoni, signed in Venice in 1603, we are back on less charted territory. All we can say with certainty is that on Sunday, September 27th, after a hectic week of ducal audiences and banquets in honour of the Swiss ambassadors, "(. . .) la mattina in S.Marco fu cantata una solenne Messa, con il Te Deum laudamus."²⁸⁶ Indeed, our very assumption that festive music was performed on this occasion is based less on contemporary documentary evidence than on a knowledge of Venetian tradition. An alliance of October, 1511, had been celebrated in a "(. . .) messa solenne (. . .) con gran cerimonie et soni et canti (. . .)";²⁸⁷ "(. . .) trombeti, pifari, corneti e cornimusì (. . .)" ²⁸⁸ had been observed at the celebrative Mass for the second Treaty of Worms (August, 1523); and, as previously noted, the service for the publication of the Holy League of 1571 had included "(. . .) tutte le solennità possibili (. . .) di musica." ²⁸⁹ It is, then, at the end of a long-standing "politico-cultural" tradition that we may view this latest round of festivities - and with them, perhaps, a thirteen-part setting by Giovanni Gabrieli of Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo

(Ps. 9), the only contemporary large-scale setting of any text from the liturgies for either Sunday or (votive) Holy Trinity (those appropriate to the occasion), which may well have provided the musical background to this latest example of ducal diplomacy.²⁹⁰

IT WILL already be apparent, however, that several of the above-mentioned texts - Confitebor included - have been chosen for musical emphasis not on account of any politico-religious value they might possess but, on the contrary, quite independently of their various political and historical contexts. This in itself may sometimes have stemmed from political motives: as in 1598 when Holy Venice, in her struggles with the Counter-Reformation papacy, might not have wished to pay homage to the sacral aspirations of any other Catholic State (Spain and France included). But in general, the situation is best explained in terms of sheer practicality. Many occasional ceremonies, by their very nature, were simply lacking those "historical" characteristics easily paralleled in the particular liturgies through which they were destined to be celebrated. Hence, the politically insignificant texts for the Indulgence of June 24th, the alliances of 1571 and 1603, and the Golden Rose presentation of 1597. And hence also those for two other, more general categories of occasional ceremony: (1) the reception of foreign princes and (2) the installation of certain, high-ranking Venetian officials (in particular, Doges, Procurators, and the Abbesses of the State Convent of S.Maria delle Vergini). It is these to which we will now turn our attention.

6. Visits of foreign princes.

In the 16th century, as today, the reception and entertainment of visiting foreign dignitaries was a matter for the strictest protocol. Lesser mortals would be well satisfied with a glimpse of the Gran Consiglio, low-key visits to the Arsenal and the Santuario of San Marco and, for the duration of their stay, the minimum escort of two Venetian nobles. At the other end of the scale, the arrival of a king (or a prince of the highest rank) might necessitate an initial welcome on the State Bucintoro,²⁹¹ a private audience with the Doge, sight-seeing tours, regattas, banquets, dramas and other entertainments, and a lavishly-organized Mass in San Marco during which the State

Treasure would be displayed upon the High Altar.²⁹² Not unnaturally, the full range of State-sponsored arts would be harnessed to the task of honouring distinguished guests. And not unnaturally, these would reflect in the clearest possible manner the political prestige of the various individuals. In 1574, for example, the visit of Henry III, newly proclaimed king of France, was celebrated in a piece of architecture (a triumphal arch, designed by Palladio),²⁹³ inscriptions and a commemorative painting in the Ducal Palace,²⁹⁴ political madrigals (both indoor and out),²⁹⁵ organ music and sacred choral music;²⁹⁶ twenty years later, the Duke of Nivers could muster nothing but "(. . .) un pocho di Musica con suono dell'Organo"²⁹⁷ during Mass at San Marco; meanwhile, in 1581, an apparently contented Prince of Gran Vallacchia leaves the city empty-handed.²⁹⁸ These and other examples provide ample evidence that only the very greatest of foreign dignitaries - kings, queens, Cardinal princes and the like - could act as catalysts for large-scale ceremonial art and music in self-important Venice.

The much-awaited peace of the post-Lepanto decades encouraged many would-be travellers to avail themselves of the city's hospitality: Henry III (1574) was hotly pursued by five Austrian Archdukes (1579), Don Giovanni de' Medici (1579), Cardinal Battori, nephew of the king of Poland (1584) and four Japanese princes (1585). All were feasted at public expense and all, as a matter of course, were guided by their hosts to the Ducal Basilica where inspection of the Treasure was generally (though not always) accompanied by Holy Mass. The general scope of each ceremony - which might vary according to the requirements of individual guests²⁹⁹ - was planned by the Senate as far in advance as possible³⁰⁰ and subsequently handed to the Maestro di Cappella and, presumably, the Maestro di Cerimonie, responsible for their execution.³⁰¹

Official records and published Descrizioni often refer to the performance of festive music on these solemn occasions. On the face of it, however, such music would not appear to have survived - at least, if it has, it is not to be traced through the usual politico-liturgical analysis.³⁰² All we can hope to do is to identify the precise dates and liturgical orientations of the various ceremonies and to match these with the liturgical positions of the texts of contemporary Concerti: this, in turn, should give some idea of the role of music within each event and will also help later with matters of musical chronology. We begin, then, by quoting the relevant

documentary information, followed in each case by any necessary comments and by identification of its "pair" in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .):

(a) The visit of Henry III, July 1574.

"Andò [July 21st] Mercordì matina [Feria IV] sua Maestà, che haveva già udita la Messa (. . .), a S.Marco, (. . .) et ginocchiatosi ad un scabello coperto di panno d'oro avanti l'Altar grande, fu cantato musicalmente sonandosi i due organi il Te Deum (. . .)." 303

"(. . .) il Rè giunto innanzi all'altar maggiore, sopra il quale era stato disteso il (. . .) tesoro di San Marco, s'inginocchiò sopra uno scabello (. . .); cominciarono i due famosi organi, suonati da' due più famosi organisti Claudio Merulo (. . .) et Andrea Gabrieli (. . .) a far dolcissimo concento; soggiungendo gli eccellenti Musici di Capella, della quale è maestro (. . .) Giuseppe Zerlini, alcuni brevi responsi. Quindi fu cantato da' medesimi quel Santo hinno Te Deum laudamus (. . .)." 304

Organ music, Te Deum and "alcuni brevi responsi" - no mention, however, of the polychoral Concerto which, to judge from the evidence of the musical prints, may well have been composed for the event. This, Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part Exurgat Deus (Ps. 67),³⁰⁵ is the only contemporary large-scale setting to survive of any text from the liturgy for Feria IV;³⁰⁶ likewise, during the period 1564-85, the only extraordinary occasion to enliven this normally undistinguished Feria was the visit of Henry III.

The contradictions apparent in the above-cited sources can, however, be resolved through examination of official records - in particular, those Acts of the Venetian Senate which outline its preparations for the festivities. An entry of July 1st begins: "(. . .) il giorno che si dirà la messa (. . .) al Rè (. . .)";³⁰⁷ and again, on July 8th: "(. . .) il giorno (. . .) che (. . .) sia detta una Messa solenne (. . .)".³⁰⁸ Clearly, a Solemn Mass had been envisaged for July 21st, and order would accordingly have been given for the composition of a suitable Concerto (or Concerti). In the event, however, there was a last minute change of plan. Henry, as the first of the above-quoted descriptions shows, heard Mass in his private apartments. Mass at San Marco was therefore abandoned in favour of an extended inspection of the Treasure. And abandoned, with the Mass, was (if our theory is correct)

the ill-fated Concerto - replaced by the "alcuni brevi responsi" more in keeping with the shorter length of the revised ceremonial.

(b) The visit of five Austrian Archdukes, January 1579.

"1578³⁰⁹ a dì [Giovedì] 22 Zener [feast of the martyrs Vincent and Anastasius]. Nel entrar [loro] in chiesa fu sonato un organo et fata musica mentre videro il tesoro sopra l'altar [grande]. Di poi andarono tuti cinque a ingenochiarsi sopra il scabelo (. . .). Fu dito una messa picciola ad altar grande dal capelano sì sua serenità per rispetto della molto longhezza (. . .).

Subito finito l'Evangelio fu fatto musica con li doi organi et sonatori et li cantori in cote in coro. Dopoi il Prefacio cioè alla Elevatione un'altra musica. Et poi fu finito la messa senza altro (. . .)." ³¹⁰

"(. . .) udirono una messa picciola (. . .) nella quale però fu fatta una solennissima musica dalla capella di S.Marco con li organi et altri instrumenti." ³¹¹

From the second of these accounts we may surmise that, of the four pieces of music mentioned by the first, only one included choral singing: the others are for organ or, perhaps, for instrumental ensemble. No less than two liturgically appropriate Concerti have, however, been preserved: a ten-part Exultate iusti (Ps. 32) and a twelve-part Benedicam Dominum (Ps. 33), both by Andrea Gabrieli,³¹² and both Matins psalms in the Commune Martyrum (and also Feria II).³¹³ Clearly, only one can relate to the present occasion. The other must necessarily belong elsewhere

(c) The visit of Don Giovanni de' Medici, July 1579.

"Li 13 [Luglio 1579] fu cantata una solenne messa (. . .) essendo perciò stato posto il Tesoro sopra l'altar (. . .)." ³¹⁴

In every respect the festivities for Don Giovanni de' Medici matched those for his Austrian predecessors. Like them, he toured the Arsenal, Gran Consiglio and Sale delle Armi; like them, he was accorded a private audience with the Doge; like them, he was honoured in regattas and banquets;³¹⁵ and the mere substitution of a "festa di gentildonne" ³¹⁶ for the "comédie" performed before the Austrians³¹⁷ may only be said to reflect his natural priorities as a southern prince. Under the circumstances, then, it would not be difficult to imagine a religious solemnity of exactly similar proportions - complete with singers, organists and

instrumentalists - to that of January 22nd. And, by sheer coincidence, July 13th 1579 turns out to have been a Monday - Feria II, that is, to which both Exultate and Benedicam are proper. The order of composition of these two Concerti is, naturally, impossible to ascertain. What can, however, be claimed with some justification is that they were composed in quick succession, and that both were performed under the almost identical conditions of State-sponsored, private inspections of the Treasure of St. Mark's.

(d) The visit of Cardinal Battori, September 1584.

If Cardinal Battori could claim little of the political prestige enjoyed by the members of the Florentine or Austrian dynasties he could still, through his position as a senior church official and nephew of the king of Poland, command significant respect - a fact borne out by the details of his five-day reception in Venice. Sumptuous private banquets,³¹⁸ followed by the customary visits to the Arsenal and Gran Consiglio, were crowned by an introduction to the Treasure and church of the Holy Republic:

"La mattina delli x [Settembre] fu levata dal suo allogiamento (. . .) dal (. . .) Cavalliere Zane, et da cinquanta nobili (. . .), et accompagnata dalle loro signorie (. . .) in Chiesa di S. Marco dove udi una messa piccola, ma però con molta musica (. . .)." 319

The identity of this music is not immediately apparent. September 10th, 1584, was a Monday: however, the sheer vastness of the two above-cited Monday Concerti, Exultate and Benedicam, would surely have rendered them out of place in the comparatively subdued atmosphere of the Battori festivities (in comparison, that is, with those of 1579). On the other hand, the aforesaid date was also Tertia die infra Oct. Nativitatis B.M.V. It is thus conceivable that Andrea Gabrieli's six-part Sancta Maria succurre miseris³²⁰ should have been set especially for the occasion: the liturgical position of the text, an Antiphon in the "Commemorationes Communes, sive suffragia Sanctorum: De Sancta Maria, quando non dicitur eius Officium Parvum",³²¹ is perfectly adapted for an infra Octavam B.M.V. situation, in which the Virgin is merely commemorated in passing in a ceremony otherwise devoted to the honouring of

a different saint. Equally possible, however, would have been a (repeat) performance of the seven-part Nativitas tua,³²² a work probably, as we have seen, composed in 1576 for the solemnization of the Redentore vow.

(e) The visit of the four Japanese princes, June 1585.

June 29th, 1585, saw one of the greatest religious solemnities which had yet been mounted in Venice:

"La Chiesa di S.Marco era (. . .) da ogni canto ripiena di gente in modo, che non si poteva mover il passo, et vi si era fatto un palco novo per li cantori, et aggiunto un'organo portatile; acciochè insieme con li due notabili di Chiesa, et gli altri stromenti musicali facesse più celebre la armonia, dove intervennero i primi Cantori, et Sonatori, che si ritrovino in queste parti.

Venne la Illustrissima Signoria (. . .); vennevi anco i Signori Giapponesi, et così si diede principio alla Messa, cantata in quattro chori con quella solennità, che si ricerca (. . .)."323

This is the only event during the period 1564-85 (the years of Andrea Gabrieli's tenure at San Marco) which is known to have included an example of four-choir polyphony. There can be little doubt, then, that the music described is none other than Andrea's magnificent setting of the Mass Ordinary³²⁴ which, complete with sixteen-part Gloria, is the only contemporary, four-choir music to have been preserved.

7. Investiture ceremonies and their anniversaries.

Foreign visitors, however, were by no means the only individuals deemed worthy of honour in Venetian ceremonial. There were also the indigenous State officials - Doges, Procurators, military generals, Primiceri and Abbesses of the Convent of Santa Maria delle Vergini - all of whom were launched upon their term of office with a votive Mass of Holy Trinity celebrated either in San Marco or, in the case of the Abbesses, in their own Convent Church of S.Maria delle Vergini. No less than three of these investitures could boast a musical

accompaniment. Firstly, that of an Abbess:

"(. . .) fu deta all'altare (. . .) la messa della Santissima Trinità per il Confessor di esso monasterio, (. . .) et cantossi, et sonato nell'organo alcune volte mentre, che si diceva la messa, [dopo la quale] fu cantato il Te Deum dalli cantori (. . .)." 325

"(. . .) fu dato principio dalli Cantori di S.Marco, a cantar Terza, doppo la quale immediate (. . .) incominciò la messa, la quale fu cantata solennemente, (. . .) il che finito fu cantato il Te Deum (. . .)." 326

Secondly, that of a Procurator:

"[si] dà principio alla Messa bassa, che dir si suole in tal caso della Santissima Trinità, con la seconda Oratione di S.Marco ['Deus qui beatum Marcum (. . .)']: see above, p.24], & con la terza, Praetende Domine famulo tuo N. Procuratori nostro dexteram coelestis auxiliij (. . .); & cantati alcuni concerti da i Musici di Chiesa sì all'Offertorio, come alla levatione della Santissima Hostia, & alla Postcommunione (. . .). Ho pur veduto io [Giovanni Stringa] l'entrata, che fece Bernardo Contarini [25-1-1603], & quelle di Marcantonio Memo [25-1-1602], di Giovanni Bembo [14-8-1601], di Giacomo Reniero [6-12-1598], di Giovanni Dolfino [23-6-1598], e di Leonardo Donato [26-7-1591]." 327

And finally, that of a Doge:

"(. . .) se li canta una bella messa della Trinità con l'oratione de S.Marco ['Deus qui beatum Marcum (. . .)'] et del Dose (. . .) nominando el nome, et la casa, dal Vicario, over Canonico, che tocha, et li sonatori sonano li Piffari dapoi l'Epistola driedo all'altar grando, et alla Elevation li sonano cornetti, over altri instrumenti. In questa, et in ogni solennità mazor se canta nelli organi dalli Cantori over si sona dalli sonatori." 328

"[si celebra la Messa con] varij concerti de sonadori et in organo." 329

The anniversary of the latter, moreover, might call for further

musical celebration:

"(. . .) ogni anno el dì del suo Annual el vien in Chiesa a messa granda, et se li canta la sopra-scritta Messa della Trinità con le oration de S.Marco [as above, 'Deus qui beatum Marcum (. . .)'], et pro Duce con li otto Sonatori del Principe con instrumenti con li cantori, et in organo alla Epistola, et Elevation (. . .).

Et se'l zorno del suo Annual el volesse (. . .) andar a visitar la Chiesa del Santo qual corre quel zorno et aldir Messa granda in quella Chiesa li cantori vanno a cantarghela, ma el forzo delle volte l'alde una Messa piccola, et li cantori non li vanno³³⁰ altramenti, aldendo messa pizzola (. . .)."331

It is, however, a distant cry from the clarity and precision of the documentary evidence to an unequivocal identification of the music involved. Three difficulties are immediately apparent. Firstly, the impossibility of determining which of the ducal investitures and their anniversaries were celebrated in specifically vocal Concerti and which were accompanied by purely instrumental music. Secondly, that of deciding the exact date of origin for the tradition of performing Concerti during the Mass for the investiture of a Procurator (in contrast to Stringa's description of 1604, cited above, the detailed account in the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale of 1564³³² is completely lacking in references to polyphonic music).³³³ And thirdly, the obvious problem of distinguishing between the liturgical music composed for one votive Mass of Holy Trinity and that composed for another (each, after all, will be characterized by identical themes of praise and thanksgiving: "(. . .)canti, e suoni [in lode del] donator de' tutti doni").³³⁴ We shall therefore content ourselves with a simple list of all the surviving, liturgically appropriate Concerti³³⁵ and of the occasions at which they are most likely to have been performed:

(a) 1564 - 1585.

INVESTITURES: Doge Pietro Loredano (26-11-1567)
Doge Alvise Mocenigo (11-5-1570)

(To judge from the description of 1574, cited above at footnote 329, these first two investitures may well have been celebrated in purely instrumental music.)

Doge Sebastiano Veniero (11-6-1577)
Doge Niccolò da Ponte (11-3-1578)
Doge Pasquale Cicogna (18-8-1585)

Abbess Sofia Benedetti (24-1-1578)
Abbess Maria (9-11-1578)

36 Procuratorial investitures.³³⁶

MUSIC: By Andrea Gabrieli: Iniquos odio habui (a 6)
Beati immaculati (a 8)
Iubilate Deo (a 8)
Laudate Dominum (a 10)
Deus misereatur nostri (a 12)
Deus qui beatum Marcum (a 7)
Deus qui beatum Marcum (a 8)³³⁷

By Giovanni Gabrieli: Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce
vigilo (a 10) ³³⁸

Iniquos odio habui and Beati immaculati,³³⁹ with their emphasis upon the themes of abstinence and purity of life in the service of the Lord, may well have been deemed particularly appropriate for the celebration of the Convent investitures. The remaining Concerti³⁴⁰ are, on balance, more likely to have been conceived for the larger-scale, ducal investitures than for the less important, procuratorial type. However, with this latter assertion we have already entered the realm of pure speculation.

(b) 1586 - 1599.

INVESTITURES: Doge Marino Grimani (26-4-1595)
Abbess Sofia Malipiero (17-2-1599)
17 Procuratorial investitures.³⁴¹

MUSIC: By Giovanni Gabrieli: Beati immaculati (a 8)
(published 1597) Iubilate Deo (a 8)
Iubilate Deo (. . .):
exultate (a 15)
Deus qui beatum Marcum (a 10)³⁴²

MUSIC: By Giovanni Bassano: Benedicamus Deum (a 6)
(1598 and 1599) Deus qui beatum Marcum (a 8)
Deus misereatur nostri (a 8)
Iubilate Deo (a 8)³⁴³

(c) 1600-1612.

INVESTITURES: Doge Leonardo Donà (10-1-1606)
Doge Marcantonio Memo (23-7-1612)
8 Procuratorial investitures.³⁴⁴

MUSIC: No liturgically appropriate music has apparently been preserved.

C. CONCLUSIONS.

Our conclusions, in common with the rest of Chapter II, will concern themselves mainly with the years 1564-85: the first two decades of the Counter-Reformation (reckoning, that is, from the liturgical reforms advocated at the Council of Trent), the period of Andrea Gabrieli's tenure as organist at the Ducal Basilica and (hence) the time span represented, roughly speaking, by the music of the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (1587). These years, as we have seen, are characterized by a wealth of documents - Cerimoniali, chronicles, guide-books and occasional Descrizioni, both manuscript and printed - which give detailed information on the liturgical and ceremonial life of the Serenissima Repubblica; in contrast, those documentary sources which do survive from the decades which follow are rarely so precise as to enable us to determine, with any degree of accuracy, which of the large-scale, liturgical Concerti were performed at any given occasional solemnity.

We begin, then, with a list of all politico-liturgical occasions (1564-85) hitherto discussed at which polyphonic music is known to have been performed (exceptions are marked with an asterisk *), together with our musical assignments from the Concerti di Andrea (. . .) Gabrieli:

DATE	EVENT	LITURGY	MUSICAL ASSIGNATION	LITURGICAL POSITION
July 2nd, 1571	Solemnization of the Holy League against the Turk.	<u>Visitatio B.M.V.</u>	<u>O gloriosa Domina (a 6)</u>	Hymn, Visitatio and <u>Assumptio B.M.V.</u>
October, 1571	Official services of thanksgiving for the victory of Lepanto. Victory celebrations of the German merchants in Venice.	Votive Masses of the Holy Spirit.	<u>Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth (a 8)</u> <u>O Salutaris Hostia (a 8)</u>	Non-liturgical; refers specifically to a military victory. Benediction chant, used throughout the liturgical year.
November 30th, 1571	Tuscan celebrations in Venice for the victory of Lepanto.	St. Andrew (Commune <u>Apostolorum</u> is also appropriate).	<u>Isti sunt triumphatores (a 6)</u>	Respond (without Verset), Matins, Commune <u>Apostolorum</u> .
November 9th, 1572	Homecoming of the victorious <u>Generale da Mar</u> , <u>Sebastiano Venier</u> .	St. Theodor (the regular liturgy for November 9th)? Votive Mass of Holy Trinity?	Music, by Zarlino, has not been preserved.	
*March, 1573	Peace between Venice and the Turk.	Dominica <u>Resurrectionis</u> .	<u>Expurgate vetus fermentum (a 8)</u>	Oratio, Mass, Dominica <u>Resurrectionis</u> ; <u>Respond with Verset, Matins, FERIA III post Pasch.</u>

DATE	EVENT	LITURGY	MUSICAL ASSIGNATION	LITURGICAL POSITION
July 21st, 1574	Reception in San Marco of Henry III of France.	<u>Feria IV.</u>	<u>Exurgat Deus (a 8)</u>	Ps. 67, Vv.1-3, a Matins Psalm proper both to Pentecost and to <u>Feria IV.</u>
<u>Quadragesima, 1576</u>	Jubilee for the plague.	<u>Feria II infra Hebdom. I Quadragesimae.</u>	<u>Emendemus in melius (a 6)</u>	Respond (without Verset), Matins, <u>Dom. I Quadragesimae.</u>
September 8th, 1576	Solemnization of the vow to erect the Church of the Redentore.	<u>Nativitas B.M.V.</u>	<u>Nativitas tua (a 7)</u>	Antiphon at the Magnificat, 1st Vespers; Respond (without Verset), Matins, Nat. B.M.V.
May 3rd, 1577	Foundation ceremony of the church of the Redentore.	<u>Inventio S.Crucis.</u>	<u>O Crux, splendidior (a 8)</u>	Antiphon at the Magnificat, 1st Vespers Inventio S. Crucis, and 2nd Vespers <u>Exaltatio S.Crucis.</u>
July 7th, 1577	Presentation to Venice of a Golden Rose. Ceremony to pray for liberation from the plague.	Sunday.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Domine,} \\ \text{Deus} \\ \text{meus} \end{array} \right. (a 7)$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Usquequo,} \\ \text{Domine} \\ \text{(a 7)} \end{array} \right.$	Respectively, Ps. 7, Vv.1-4, and Ps. 12, Vv.1-4, both proper to Sunday Matins.
July 21st, 1577	Ceremony to mark the liberation from the plague. First <u>Andata alla Chiesa del Redentore.</u>	Sunday.		

DATE	EVENT	LITURGY	MUSICAL ASSIGNATION	LITURGICAL POSITION
*June 6th, 1577	Death of Doge Alvise Mocenigo.	<u>Corpus Domini.</u>	<u>Iudica me, Domine</u> <u>(a 7)</u>	Ps. 42, Vv.1-2, proper to Matins of <u>Corpus Domini</u> , Lauds of <u>Feria III</u> and Lauds of <u>Sabbato Sancto.</u>
January 22nd, 1579	Reception in San Marco of five Austrian Arch-dukes.	<u>Commune Plurimorum Martyrum.</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Exultate} \\ \text{iusti} \\ \text{(a 10)} \\ \text{Benedicam} \\ \text{Dominum} \\ \text{(a 12)} \end{array} \right\}$	Respectively, Ps. 32, Vv.1-5, and Ps. 33, Vv.1-5, proper to Matins both of the Comm. Plur. Marty. and of <u>Feria II.</u> Ps. 33 is also proper to the Commune Apostolorum & Evangelistarum.
July 13th, 1579	Reception in San Marco of Don Giovanni de' Medici.	<u>Feria II.</u>		
*April 15th, 1584	Reception in San Marco of some newly discovered relics of the Passion.	<u>Votive Mass de Passione Domini?</u>	<u>Deus, Deus meus</u> <u>(a 10)?</u>	Ps. 21, Vv.1-3, used as the Tract in Mass of Palm Sunday, and as a Matins Psalm on <u>Feria VI in Parasceve.</u>

DATE	EVENT	LITURGY	MUSICAL ASSIGNATION	LITURGICAL POSITION
September 10th, 1584	Reception in San Marco of Cardinal Battori.	Tertia die infra <u>Octavam Nativitatis</u> <u>B.M.V.</u>	<u>Sancta Maria</u> (a 6)?	Antiphon in the "Commemorationes Communes (. . .): <u>De Sancta Maria,</u> quando non dicitur eius Officium Parvum."
June 29th, 1585	Reception in San Marco of four Japanese princes.	Sts. Peter and Paul.	<u>Kyrie</u> (a 5) <u>Christe</u> (a 8) <u>Kyrie</u> (a 12) <u>Gloria</u> (a 16) <u>Sanctus</u> (a 12)	Mass Ordinary.

The documentary sources contain information on four (and only four) other such occasional events - to which we may add some tentative musical assignments. On Sunday, July 25th, 1574, at the Church of the Frari, King Henry III of France was entertained to "(. . .) Messa, & soave Concerto di musica":³⁴⁵ this music, by a process of elimination, we may identify as Andrea Gabrieli's six-part Beatus vir qui non abiit³⁴⁶ (after Domine, Deus meus and Usquequo, Domine the only remaining contemporary Concerto which would have been liturgically appropriate to the occasion).³⁴⁷ On January 2nd, 1577, in the Basilica of St. Mark, "(. . .) si cantò una solenne messa"³⁴⁸ of thanksgiving for the partial abatement of the plague: this Mass may well have featured Gabrieli's eight-part setting of Ps. 53 (Vv. 1-4), Deus, in nomine tuo, saluum me fac,³⁴⁹ a text which, while not liturgically proper to the occasion, nevertheless forms the basis of a prayer for deliverance from the epidemic inscribed upon the cover of the above-cited Venetian Mariegola of July 1577.³⁵⁰ On September 28th, 1578, in celebration of the re-opening of the Sala del Gran Consiglio, newly restored after the fire of 1577, Mass was heard in the Ducal Palace, before which, however, "(. . .) nell'entrar del Ser^{mo} Principe, è stato cantato dalli cantori di S. Marco il salmo che principia Laetatus sum":³⁵¹ of this music, however, we are now without trace. And on April 3rd, 1581, feast of Annuncio B.M.V., "[fu] detta la messa per l'erettione del Seminario di questa [ducal] Chiesa, facendosi anco una straordinaria processione":³⁵² music for this occasion may well have included Andrea's eight-part Egredimini et videte, filiae Syon, Reginam vestram,³⁵³ a text which would serve as readily in the praise of Mater Ecclesia (if, as seems likely, it has indeed been modelled upon a passage from the Canticum Canticorum, a Book generally interpreted as an allegorical dialogue between Church and God³⁵⁴) as it would in that of the Blessed Virgin.

There remain, of Andrea's contributions to the 1587 publication, some seventeen large-scale, sacred compositions. Seven of these, as we have seen, most probably relate to the investiture services for important State officials. The other ten, it would appear, have been conceived not for occasional, politico-religious ceremonies but for the greatest annual liturgical commemorations.³⁵⁵ Four pertain to Easter;³⁵⁶ three to Christmas;³⁵⁷ two to feasts of the Blessed Virgin;³⁵⁸ and one - a twelve-part setting of the Magnificat³⁵⁹ - could have been performed on any number of the most important commemorative occasions.

We have thus accounted for the entire published repertory (1564-85) of sacred Venetian Concerti. And now, a definite pattern begins to emerge. Leaving aside those pieces for liturgical commemorations - and assuming, for one moment, the correctness of the various musical assignments offered in the Table above - we may observe that an almost perfect balance exists, both numerically and liturgically, between the special politico-religious events recorded in Venetian Ceremonial-book literature of the 1570's and 1580's and the liturgical texts set to large-scale music over a similar period. During Andrea Gabrieli's tenure as organist at San Marco there is, for example, only one occasional event (that of November 30th, 1571) at which the liturgy in Commune Apostolorum would have been appropriate; likewise, in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .), this same liturgy is represented by a single large-scale work (Isti sunt triumphatores), a work, moreover, whose text comments perfectly on the accompanying "historical" and "artistic" situations. Similarly, in the case of the liturgy in Hebdomade I Quadragesimae: a single occasional ceremony (that of the Jubilee for the plague, 1576), a single large-scale, both liturgically and historically appropriate, musical setting (Emendemus in melius). Similarly, with respect to the occasional ceremonies and Concerti performed in connection with the liturgies of Corpus Domini, Inventio S. Crucis, Feria II, Feria IV, Commune Plurimorum Martyrum and so on. And similarly, also, in the case of the single documentary reference of the period to a "(. . .) Messa cantata in quattro chori":³⁶⁰ a reference paralleled, as we have seen, in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) by a single, large-scale setting of the Mass Ordinary, complete with sixteen-part (four-choir) Gloria.

This apparent "balance" between ceremonial occasions and ceremonial music is a fact of extraordinary significance. It transforms what has, until now, been nothing but a series of individual hypotheses and coincidences into a self-contained and fully autonomous system: a system governed, as it were, by the rules of Church-State relations in Venice, as laid out on pp.33-43 above. It does not guarantee the correctness of our various theories - on whatever level, large-scale or small. But its all-embracing nature does enable us to state, quite categorically, that the mathematical possibility of error having occurred on any significant scale may be regarded as practically negligible. On this test of probability, then, we base the following brief series of conclusions:

- 1 a. The texts of the large-scale Venetian Concerti of the period of the Counter-Reformation have been selected for festive musical setting not only on account of their liturgical suitability but also, wherever possible, for their ability to comment, through liturgical allegory, on the particular political or historical situation in hand. Through this selection, ordinary "religious" texts from the local, ducal liturgy have been made to highlight the specifically sacral aspects of Venetian history and political philosophy. And liturgical music, through the liturgy it serves, has been annexed to the machine of Venetian State propaganda: a means, along with the Rituum ecclesiasticorum ceremoniale of 1564, of safeguarding local politico-religious traditions in the face of the Counter-Reformation emphasis on the separation of sacred and secular powers.
- 1 b. This explains, in part, the preponderance of "motet"-like (for want of a better word) texts, as opposed to settings of the Mass Ordinary, in contemporary publications of large-scale Venetian sacred music. The Ordinary is, in terms of politico-liturgical allegory, practically unusable; a "motet"-like text, on the other hand, can easily express the particular politico-historical content of any given occasional ceremony.

(The principal reason for the preponderance of "motet"-like texts must surely, however, lie in the requirements of ducal ceremonial: the sheer bulkiness of the latter would, on the vast majority of politico-religious occasions, have precluded the performance of elaborate - and hence long-winded - polyphonic settings of the Ordinary.) ³⁶¹

2. With the sole exception of Zarlino's music for the homecoming of Sebastiano Venier (November, 1572), the possible contribution of the same composer to the music in honour of Henry III (July, 1574) and, perhaps, the anonymous setting of Laetatus sum performed at the re-opening of the Gran Consiglio (September, 1578), all the festive Venetian church-Concerti of the period have been composed by Andrea Gabrieli. The "balance" between the ceremonial occasions recorded in the documentary sources, and the ceremonial music of this particular composer, leaves

little room for doubt.

3 a. All or almost all, the large-scale church-Concerti of Andrea Gabrieli have been preserved. (The extent and survival rate of later occasional repertoires are more difficult to ascertain; as noted on p.74 above, insufficient documentary information on the occasional, politico-religious ceremonies of later periods has survived to permit any clear understanding of their musical content.) At most, it would appear, we lack a small number of pieces for the various Investiture Masses of Holy Trinity (discussed above, pp.71-4) and for the most important liturgical commemorations (those of Christmas, Easter and the Annunc. B.M.V.). The Concerti di Andrea (. . .) Gabrieli (. . .) does not, therefore, represent (as has sometimes been claimed³⁶²) a mere selection of its composer's large-scale output - but rather, the full extent of a moderately small repertoire composed over a period of some twenty years at an average rate of two per year.

3 b. And here, we have the probable reason why the Concerti (. . .) was never published during Gabrieli's lifetime. Not, as has been suggested, because of any reluctance on the part of its composer.³⁶³ Still less because of the esoteric nature of the ducal liturgy to which its contents belong. (Indeed, with the sole exception of the non-liturgical Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth, its texts are all equally proper to the Breviarium/Missale Romanum: only their position within the whole differs slightly.) Not even on account of the difficulty of marketing such a collection of large-scale music, much of it written for feast days and Feriae of distinctly secondary importance (although this undoubtedly played a certain role: it is noticeable that of the fifteen Concerti chosen for inclusion by Lindner in his anthology, the Continuatio cantionum sacrarum of 1588,³⁶⁴ all but three relate directly to the principal feasts of Christmas, Easter, the Blessed Virgin and - for votive purposes - Holy Trinity).³⁶⁵ But, quite simply, through lack of a sufficiently large corpus of music. Had the Concerti (. . .) been published just two years before the death of its composer, it would already have been lacking not only the five to sixteen-

part Mass Ordinary (a bulky composition) of 1585 but also, according to our calculations, the six-part Sancta Maria and ten-part Deus, Deus meus of 1584, at least one of the pieces in honour of Holy Trinity (that for the investiture in 1585 of Doge Pasquale Cicogna: possibly the largest of the group, the ten-part Laudate Dominum³⁶⁶) and, perhaps, several of the compositions for liturgical commemorations. As it was, in 1587, the editor of the collection, Giovanni Gabrieli, still saw fit to add a not insignificant number of pieces of his own.³⁶⁷

The function of the print when it did eventually appear - that of a retrospective collection, a posthumous tribute offered by Giovanni Gabrieli to his uncle and mentor, Andrea - is a separate issue. In Venice, there was undoubtedly a tradition of retrospective publications: for example, two volumes of large-scale choral and instrumental works by Giovanni himself were to be published in 1615, three years after the composer's death; and a number of works in his volume of 1597 could date from ten or even fifteen years before their date of publication. This is not, however, to say that composers were 'saving' their works for posterity; it merely reflects the smallness in size and slow rate of composition of the repertory. A composer cannot publish what he has not yet composed.

CHAPTER THREE

PIECES FOR LITURGICAL COMMEMORATIONS

As has already been hinted in the opening pages of Chapter II the dual, politico-religious function of the Church of St. Mark's was exemplified not only in the occasional liturgical ceremonies with which the Republic celebrated its greatest political achievements but also in several of the recurring, commemorative festivities which comprised the local liturgical year. This marriage between the sacred and the secular might be manifested, as we have seen, on the level of the liturgical year itself (a coincidence of liturgical and historical dates, as in Ascensione Domini and in festis Annunciationis B.M.V., SS.Redemptoris, and S.Iustinae), in specific liturgical texts (as in in festo S.Iustinae and on the Translatio and Apparitio S.Marci), or in ducal ceremonial (the remark of the chronicler Francesco Sansovino that "fu sempre costume de nostri d'accompagnar le cose temporali con la religione"). Let us now look more closely at the latter: firstly, at the passage (in which the above-quoted statement occurs) from Venetia Città Nobilissima (. . .) in which the author describes the greatest of the religious processions made annually by the Doge, Senators and clerics of St. Mark's to one or other of the city's churches, where they would present themselves for the celebration of Vespers or Mass:

"Il Principe (. . .) fa ogni anno diverse andate in diversi luoghi della Città per diversi giorni festivi, solennizzati, o per rito di Santa Chiesa, o per decreto publico, o per pericoli fuggiti, o per voto. Queste andate, i Palatini le chiamano comunemente, Andar in trionfo. Percioch'oltre che il Doge porta tutte l'insegne del Principato, la Signoria allora ha il suo pieno, cioè gli aggiunti che bisognano a quelle andate. (. . .) Nel principio [vengono] gli otto Stendardi che si hebbero dal Pontefice. Seguitano poi le trombe d'argento (. . .). Et a due a due i Comandatori, chiamati da Latini praecones. (. . .)

Dietro a costoro vengono i pifferi co i tromboni, (. . .) sonando tuttavia harmonicamente. A questi seguono gli Scudieri del Doge (. . .). Indi sei Canonici (. . .), perchè fu sempre costume de nostri d'accompagnar le cose temporali con la religione. Appresso costoro caminano i Castaldi del Doge, & poi i Secretari del Collegio, quei di Pregadi, & quelli del Consiglio de Dieci, & dopo vengono i due Cancellieri del Doge (. . .). Et dietro a questi segue il Cancellier Grande (. . .). Et immediate è il Cappellano del Principe col Zago che porta il Cero, & col Ballottino del Doge. (. . .) Et poco

presso compare la persona del Doge attorniato da gli Oratori de Principi esterni. Et in trionfo porta sempre il Bavero d'Armellini. Dopo costoro vengono i Consiglieri, & Procuratori di San Marco (. . .), gli Avogadori, i Capi de' Dieci, i Savi Grandi, i Savi della guerra (. . .), & gli altri Senatori, & Magistrati (. . .), con tanta magnificenza & grandezza che nulla più. Et quest'ordinanza in questa maniera, si chiama, come s'è detto di sopra, andare in trionfo." 368

There were ten of these processions. Seven commemorated specific, historical events;³⁶⁹ the other three had been established as vehicles for the official, State veneration of important, Holy Relics.³⁷⁰ All, as Sansovino remarks, consisted of both temporal and spiritual elements. And all - "historical" ones included - concluded, as we have noted, with an act of liturgical worship. Indeed, this specifically liturgical (as opposed to merely religious) element was not entirely absent from the Andate in trionfo themselves, in the shape of the Litanies which, in six cases at least, "(. . .) i Musici [cantano] per strada." 371 Thus, when Sansovino declares that "(. . .) fu sempre costume de nostri d'accompagnar le cose temporali con la religione", he is basing his judgement upon sound, material evidence.

Naturally, however, the vast majority of liturgical commemorations contained no overtly political points of reference. These ceremonies varied widely in nature, ranging in importance from some of the major solemnities such as Christmas, Pentecost and All Saints Day to the feasts of minor groups of saints and, in the absence of these, to the recital of the ordinary ferial liturgy. On many - especially in the two latter categories - no government representation was required; on others, however, Doge and Senators were obliged by law to attend at San Marco for the celebration of Mass and/or Vespers. On such occasions they would gather together beforehand in the Ducal Palace, from whence they would walk in procession to the nearby church - not, however, in trionfo, as would have befitted a solemnity with obviously political or historical connotations, but senza trionfo, without, that is, the massive array of State insignia which normally accompanied the "extra-liturgical" commemorations.³⁷² Inside the church the splendour of the ceremonial would appear, on occasion, to have equalled that of the

greatest politico-religious commemorations. But this must surely be attributed to purely liturgical considerations: indeed, the very attendance of the Doge at these primarily religious solemnities can only be interpreted as an act both of personal and of official (State) devotion in which the glorification of Venice and its rulers has effectively been subordinated (as symbolized through the lack of State trionfi) to that of the Catholic Church (i.e., of Christianity in general).

How, then, was this hierarchy of religious and political ceremonial - ranging from full government attendance to nothing at all - to be reflected in the day to day musical life of the Ducal Basilica? Appendix II lists the duties of the salaried singers and organists of the church as they stood in the early decades of the Counter-Reformation, together with information, gleaned from non-musical sources, on the type of music they are likely to have performed. It is, not surprisingly, in precisely those ceremonies (generally classified in the liturgy as Duplex maius) which are also accompanied by Andate - whether primarily "political" (in trionfo) or primarily "religious" (senza trionfo) - that the greatest reliance on large-scale polyphony is to be found. Thus, First Vespers in festo S.Marci (Andata in trionfo) "(. . .) si canta da' Musici di Chiesa con quella maggior solennità, ch'è possibile." ³⁷³ Mass at the Church of S.Giustina (a saint who, as we have seen, ³⁷⁴ was a relatively minor figure until the military victory of 1571 which occasioned the Andata in Trionfo) is "(. . .) cantata con solennità molto grande di canti, & di suoni, fatti da i Musici di San Marco." ³⁷⁵ Mass on the feast of Corpus Domini (Andata senza Trionfo) is "(. . .) cantata (. . .) con grandissima solennità." ³⁷⁶ And both First Vespers and Mass of Nativitas Domini (Andate senza Trionfo) are "(. . .) con canti, & suoni soavissimi (. . .) cantat[i] da i Musici di Chiesa salariati, & da altri, che vengono tolti a posta per far maggior numero, poichè si canta (. . .) a otto, dieci, dodici, e sedici cori [? voci], con stupore, & maraviglia di ciascuno." ³⁷⁷ Corroborating this documentary information, moreover, is the evidence of the musical prints. Several large-scale motets have been preserved in connection with all these festivities: for Corpus Domini and S.Giustina "a 8", for S.Marco "a 8" and "a 12" and,

most impressive of all, for Nativitas Domini "a 8", "a 12" and "a 14".³⁷⁸

On the second musico-commemorative rung, so to speak, come those solemnities which, again with few exceptions, are classified in the liturgy as Duplex: commemorations of Evangelists (other than the Venetian patron St. Mark who, quite naturally, holds a special place of honour), of Apostles and of a variety of other, either locally or more generally worshipped saints and relics.³⁷⁹ On these festivities, as on those with associated Andate, the attendance of both singers and organist(s) was compulsory.³⁸⁰ Yet, in contrast with Andata-class commemorations, Doge and Senators were rarely present; and it is hardly thus surprising to find that in Venetian Ceremonial-book literature the Duplex-type Mass is never described in quite such glowing terms as "(. . .) cantata (. . .) con grandissima solennità", or "(. . .) cantata con solennità molto grande di canti, & di suoni". Instrumentalists (other than organists), in fact, were never present (at least, if they were, this is never recorded). And the remaining musicians, it would appear, performed not from the elevated galleries above the choir of the Ducal Basilica (where at least some of them would be stationed on many of the greatest solemnities³⁸¹), but from the much smaller Pergolo dei Musici (capacity approximately twenty), a pulpit-like structure which stands in the nave of the church to the south of the iconostasis.³⁸² "Cantores cantant (. . .) in pulpito magno cantorum",³⁸³ runs a description of Mass in festo S. Iacobi (July 25th), "(. . .) cantores manent in pulpito magno",³⁸⁴ states a parallel account of Mass in festo S. Victori (September 18th): on such occasions no music could be valid which failed to take account of this central, practical consideration. And so, the vast majority of Venetian Duplex-class motets are cast in four, five and six-part mould, with only a single excursion - and this towards the end of the century - to the eight-part category hitherto reserved for Andata-class festivities.³⁸⁵

Finally, at the bottom of the musico-liturgical ladder, come those feast days and Feriae which are classified in the liturgy as Semiduplex and Simplex. On these, with the sole exceptions of

Feriae V and VI (regular rest days for the choir), the singers were obliged to intervene.³⁸⁶ With, however, one important qualification: their performance would lack not only the instrumental accompaniment characteristic of the greatest Duplex maius festivities, but also - with the exception of Sunday, a day on which, significantly, the Doge was present in church - the participation of the two resident organists whose music featured regularly in commemorations of the Duplex-Duplex maius bracket. The Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale of 1564 contains the following rubric: "Organistae semper veniunt et sonant . in omnibus suprascriptis diebus [a reference to the feast days and Feriae included in the list of singers' duties which comprises the preceding rubric, and for which see Appendix II] exceptis simplicibus diebus [my italics] . et dominicis Adventus . et á dominica septuagesimae usque ad dominicam palmarum inclusive . dum modo in talibus diebus festum aliquod de supra scriptis non occurrat . excepta etiam feria secunda . tertia . quarta . et sexta maioris hebdomadae . [and except Semiduplex feasts, none of which are included in the above-mentioned list]." ³⁸⁷

Apart, then, from the isolated special cases (Advent, Lent and Holy Week) described in this final excerpt, it seems clear that the liturgical (and liturgico-political) distinctions between Duplex maius (in effect, Andata-class), Duplex and Semiduplex-Simplex feast days and Feriae have all been faithfully reflected - and in the strongest possible fashion - in the day to day musical life of the Ducal Basilica: from the general obligations of the salaried musicians to the numbers in which they were present and to the manner of performance they employed (i.e., the presence, or not, in the ensemble of the organists and instrumentalists). These distinctions may be summarized as follows:

	OBLIGATIONS OF DOGE AND SENATORS	OBLIGATIONS OF MUSICIANS	NUMBER OF MUSICIANS	TYPES OF PERFORMERS
<u>DUPLEX</u> <u>MAIUS</u>	attendance compulsory	attendance compulsory	many; sometimes extra (non- salaried) musicians are hired	singers, instrumentalists and organist(s)
<u>DUPLEX</u>	attendance infrequently required	attendance compulsory	few	singers and organist(s); no instrumentalists
<u>SEMI- DUPLEX</u> & <u>SIMPLEX</u>	attendance not required (except Sundays)	attendance compulsory except on Thursday and Friday (rest days)	few	singers only (except on Sundays when organists also are present)

And, for the vast majority of liturgical commemorations, little more need be said: the documentary evidence of Appendix II, coupled with the explanatory remarks which are offered above, provides ample coverage of what was essentially an extremely straightforward, musico-liturgical "system". Only, indeed, in the case of those commemorations with overtly political connotations does the situation become more complicated. These can easily give rise to the same kind of allegorical, politico-religious text which, as we have seen, was so characteristic of many of the occasional Concerti described in Chapter II. In the following pages, then, we will examine a number of such annual festivities, in the hope that an understanding of their politico-religious foundations will facilitate analysis of the texts and will thus throw some light on the significance of both commemorative liturgy and commemorative, liturgical music in the political and ceremonial life of the Serenissima Repubblica.

1. GIOVEDI' GRASSO (Thursday before Septuagesima).

"DE DIE JOVIS PINGUIS. (. . .) et eodem die . qui fuit dies jovis pinguis solentur fieri quidam jocj et festum in platea Sancti Marcj . ad quae spectacula accedit Ser^{mus} princeps et senatus (. . .) . In die iovis praedicta semper cantores cantant (. . .) Missam jucundam . et incohabant olim . a Kyrie eleison . hodie cantant totam Missam . quae dicitur . de la bataglia . quae composita fuit ob victoriam christianissimi Regis Francorum de Elvetijs." 388

"El zorno della Zuobba grassa . si canta la Messa della Bataglia da li cantori . con li mottetti soliti . salvo sel non fusse festa che sonasse l'organo . perchè non se dicia li moteti . ma in loco di quelli soneva l'organo, come è accaduto el dì del S^{to} Mathia venir in tal dì." 389

"Il Giovedì grasso si canta la Messa grande (. . .) composta da un Todesco sopra le ricercate dell' organo (. . .), e si chiama la Messa della battaglia; se bene di presente la chiamano la Messa della Cazza." 390

The festivity in the Piazza commemorated the restoration to his rightful position, through Venetian intervention, of the Patriarch of Grado, driven from his throne in 1162 by his rival the Patriarch of Aquileia.³⁹¹ And that in the church - dubbed, as we have seen, the Messa della Battaglia - can only have originated in a second Venetian-aided victory: that of the Battle of Marignano (September 14th, 1515), when the timely arrival of Venetian reinforcements enabled Francis I, king of France, to overcome the armies of his Swiss opponents and capture the city of Milan.³⁹² On the face of it, the music for this Mass should prove easily identified: it seems, after all, to have been performed on a regular, annual basis from shortly after 1515³⁹³ until at least 1678 (the date of the third of the above-quoted descriptions), and must thus surely have been well enough known to have been recorded in any number of manuscripts and/or publications. Of an early 16th-century polyphonic Messa della Battaglia composed by a German and based - or performed - upon a series of ricercari for organ³⁹⁴ we are now, however, without trace.³⁹⁵ The identity of the ricercari themselves (if these had ever a separate existence) is not, moreover, immediately apparent (although they may well have formed the basis of the organ music played on feast days

when "(. . .) non se dicia li moteti [dalli cantori]"). And the same may also be said of the "mottetti soliti" (although here the use of the adjective "soliti" points strongly to the fact that these too, like the Mass, were performed on a regular, annual basis).

One fact, however, should call into question the total reliability of the information contained in the rubric of 1678: namely, that some 150 years after the first performance of this Mass its very name, Messa della Battaglia, had already been altered in popular usage to Messa della Caccia. Clearly, the "tradition", although still recognizable, had undergone at least one, perhaps a series of, mutations. Let us turn, then, to see what (broadly speaking) complimentary evidence is to be found in the early, specifically musical sources.

The only surviving, early 16th-century Messa della Battaglia to have been composed by a non-Italian who could conceivably have been construed as a northerner is that of the Frenchman, Clément Janequin. The chanson, La guerre (also by Janequin),³⁹⁶ upon which this Mass is based, was early associated with Marignano: in a German lute transcription of 1549 it is entitled Die Schlacht vor Pavia,³⁹⁷ while in a further lute transcription, contained in a manuscript of Italian origin and datable to c.1540, it is called Bataglia de Maregnano.³⁹⁸ The Mass itself was first printed in 1532 by the French publisher J.Moderne of Lyon;³⁹⁹ a copy of this print, however, (perhaps significantly, but probably not) is held by at least one Italian library, the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale of Bologna. Manuscript Q.25 of the same library, datable to the first half of the 16th century, contains a further copy of the music.⁴⁰⁰ As, indeed, does Ms.LIII of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Cividale del Friuli:⁴⁰¹ a fact which suggests (if nothing more) that this particular Messa della Battaglia was known by musicians not only in Italy at large but also in the Veneto in particular.

Nothing, of course, in the above should be construed as anything but the purest speculation. Janequin is not "todesco"; however, the composer who most obviously fits this description, the Fleming Adriano Willaert, although active at Venice from c.1527 (i.e., from not long after the victory of Marignano), did not apparently compose a Battle Mass. And, if we are unable to establish with certainty the identity of the polyphonic Ordinary, it seems absolutely impossible

to draw any conclusions whatever apropos of the motets. Let us pass, then, without further comment, to the next of the politico-liturgical commemorations.

2. FEAST OF SANTA GIUSTINA (October 7th): Andata in Trionfo.

"ANDATA A SANTA GIUSTINA.(. . .) Va (. . .)
il Doge con la Signoria [in Trionfo alla Chiesa di
S.Giustina], dove udita Messa, che viene da uno
de' Canonici del Prencipe cantata con solennità
molto grande di canti, e di suoni, fatti da i
Musici di S.Marco, e con frequenza ammirabile di
popolo; (. . .) ritornando in Chiesa di S.Marco,
e poi a Palazzo." 402

"[Va] alla Chiesa di Santa Giustina (. . .) co i
Trionfi (. . .), & uditavi Messa cantata (. . .)." 403

In terms of ducal ceremonial, Mass on the feast of S.Giustina, which was accompanied by one of the ten annual Andate in Trionfo, ranked among the most important of the Venetian liturgico-political year. In the closely related fields both of music and of the visual arts, then, it is hardly surprising to find that a comparable situation should have existed: on the artistic side "[la chiesa di S.Giustina] si trova al presente in tale stato, che non cede di bellezza, e di vaghezza a qualunque altra [chiesa monastica] ci sia (. . .)",⁴⁰⁴ while on the musical the presence of both singers and instrumentalists, in a performance noted for its "(. . .) solennità molto grande", is more than sufficient to set this feast apart from the general run of Duplex, and even Duplex maius, commemorations. Mass was sung in plainchant by a Canon, most probably with a polyphonic setting of the Ordinary,⁴⁰⁵ and certainly with the interpolation of one or more large-scale motets. "Certainly", we say, because two of these motets have been preserved. Giovanni Croce's eight-part Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth⁴⁰⁶ takes as its point of departure a non-liturgical text (a text, however, with overtly liturgico-political implications) first set by Andrea Gabrieli in his "victory" Concerto of 1571.⁴⁰⁷ And Giovanni Bassano's five-part setting of Beata virgo et martyr Iustina⁴⁰⁸ commemorates, in quasi-liturgical language, the martyrdom

of the local saint on whose intercession the battle had supposedly been won: "Beata virgo et martyr Iustina raperetur ad supplitium cum ab impiissimo tiranno clamabat ad Dominum: Gratias tibi ago, Domine, quem semper amavi, quem quaesivi, quem optavi: quia me in numerum martyrum accipere dignatus fuisti, alleluia." 409

In neither of these motets, however, are politics and genuine liturgy combined - for a full demonstration of the place of local "sacral" philosophy in the actual commemorative liturgy of Venice and its music it will be necessary to look elsewhere.

~ 3. FEAST OF THE REDENTORE (third Sunday of July): Andata in Trionfo.

"La terza Domenica di Luglio, (. . .) se ne v' [co' Trionfi] alla Giudeca à visitar la chiesa del Redentore, & ciò fa per memoria, che fu da esso Redentore, & Signor nostro, (. . .) liberata questa Città dall'horrenda peste del 1576." 410

"Si trasferisce il Doge ogn'anno nel sudetto giorno, la mattina alla detta chiesa (. . .) & udiva Messa Bassa dal Priore di quei Padri, co' motteti cantati da i Musici di San Marco all' Offertorio, & alla Levatione del Corpo Santissimo del Redentor nostro, ritorna a San Marco alla Messa Maggiore, che vien cantata da un canonico, & passate le Scuole, con le Religioni, & Congregationi de' Preti, ascende in Palazzo alle sue stanze." 411

The bubonic plague of 1575-7 has already figured prominently in our discussion, in the previous chapter, of the occasional, politically-inspired solemnities and their music.⁴¹² In a small group of ceremonies, each representing a different stage along the road to the final, supposedly miraculous healing, we noted a consistent inclination to express allegorically, through the medium of the liturgy, that which might just as easily have been interpreted as purely medical or "political" - in short, as worldly. This "liturgical allegory" - paralleled, as we observed, in a wide variety of the State-sponsored arts (painting, illumination and statuary) - was centred upon the three closely-related concepts of sin, punishment and the Risen Christ as Redeemer. These concepts, far from remaining the exclusive domain of the three fully-occasional ceremonies (respectively, those for the

Jubilee, the solemnization of the vow, and the foundation of the Redentore Church) were also in evidence in the votive painting exhibited, and in the text of the music composed, on the occasion of the first of the annual Andate al Redentore (identical, as we have seen with the final, so-called "Liberation" celebration) through which they duly entered the tradition of the plague commemoration. Thus, even as late as 1722, when a special commemorative liturgy was established in the place of the ad hoc Votive Mass of Holy Trinity which had served the occasion since 1577, it is hardly surprising to find these identical strands of religious symbolism still pushed strongly to the fore.⁴¹³

Comparison of this tradition-based liturgy of 1722, together with that in die Sanctissimae Trinitatis, with the texts of the large-scale motets of the Gabrieli and their Venetian contemporaries enables us to trace at least one of the pieces apparently "(. . .) cantati da i Musici di San Marco" at the annual Redentore festivities: namely, the famous fourteen-part In ecclesiis benedicite Domino⁴¹⁴ of Giovanni Gabrieli. Throughout this centonized text (composed largely of phrases derived from the Office of Holy Trinity⁴¹⁵) the figure of God has been substituted for the more traditional one of Christ the Redeemer, but the now familiar themes of protection and deliverance, coupled with the necessary "historical" references to health and well-being, are constantly present:

<u>IN ECCLESIIS</u> (text) ⁴¹⁶	LITURGY OF HOLY TRINITY	"REDENTORE" LITURGY OF 1722
1. In ecclesiis benedicite Domino, alleluia.		In ecclesiis benedicam te, Domine. ⁴¹⁷
2. In omni loco dominationis dominationes benedic anima mea Dominum, alleluia. ⁴¹⁸		
3. In Deo salutari meo et gloria mea, Deus auxilium meum, et spes mea in Deo est, alleluia.	Spes nostra, salus nostra, honor noster, o beata Trinitas. ⁴¹⁹	Deus meus, Salvator meus, salutare meum, et spes mea in aeternum. ⁴²⁰ Salus autem mea in sempiternum erit (. . .) ⁴²¹ Protector noster aspice Deus (. . .). ⁴²²

IN ECCLESIIS	LITURGY OF HOLY TRINITY	"REDESTORE" LITURGY OF 1722
4. Deus meus, te invocamus, te adoramus (. . .)	Te invocamus, te adoramus, te laudamus, o beata Trinitas. ⁴²³	
5. (. . .) libera nos, salva nos, vivifica nos, alleluia.	Libera nos, salva nos, vivifica nos, o beata Trinitas. ⁴²⁴	
6. Deus adiutor noster in aeternum, alleluia.	(See section 3, above)	

The same might equally be said of a second, roughly contemporary motet: a massive, twenty-part work entitled Dulcis Iesu, patris imago. This was never published and now survives only as part of a manuscript compiled in the early decades of the 17th century for a non-Venetian institution, the court chapel at Kassel.⁴²⁵ But an attribution in the chapel inventory of 1638 identifies the composer as Giovanni Gabrieli,⁴²⁶ and there seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of this information, given the close links known to have existed at the time between composers in the Venetian and Kassel orbits.⁴²⁷ The text, half centonized, half non-liturgical, reads as follows:

"Dulcis Iesu, patris imago, et salus nostra, qui
morte crucis nos omnes redemisti, libera nos!
Protege nos ab omni malo, ut digni reperiamur esse
in caelis." ⁴²⁸

"Salus nostra", "malo", "redemisti", "libera nos", "protege nos": all conform to the general pattern of plague iconography and symbolism described in Chapter II,⁴²⁹ and all are paralleled, if not to the same extent as In ecclesiis, in the liturgical texts both of Holy Trinity and of 1722 contained in the Table above. In the central position, moreover, comes the figure of the Risen Christ: a Christ who, through death on the Cross ("qui morte crucis"; q.v., the foundation ceremony of 3rd May, 1577), has conquered both ill and evil, and who thus

promises to the faithful life eternal ("ut digni reperiamur esse in caelis"; q.v., the ceremony for the solemnization of the Redentore vow, September 8th, 1576).

SO FAR, then, we have seen how on Giovedì Grasso an ordinary Feria V could become the outlet for a commemoration of political significance; how on the feast of S.Giustina a pre-existing, minor liturgical commemoration could be thrown suddenly to the fore through the coincidence of a military victory; and how on the feast of the Redentore a new liturgical commemoration could be established - and seemingly "religious" motets composed - to perpetuate the memory of a supposedly God-sent, "political" favour. In the final example, feast of Ascensio Domini, we shall examine one further permutation of this politico-liturgical phenomenon: the manipulation of a pre-existing, liturgical commemoration of major religious significance so as to accommodate the coincidental commemoration, through liturgical allegory, of yet another "political" event (or, in this case, a series of such events) from the history of the Serenissima Repubblica.

4. FEAST OF THE ASCENSION: Andate in Trionfo.

"La Vigilia dell'Ascensione descende co' Trionfi
il Principe in Chiesa di S.Marco, & vi ode Vespero,
che viene solennissimamente cantato." 430

"La mattina (. . .) dell'Ascensione, poco dopo
terza, il Principe con la Signoria monta sul
Bucintoro, & (. . .) si conduce al lido; (. . .)
escono fuori su la bocca del mare (. . .); il
Principe getta nell'acqua uno anello in segno di
sponsalizio (. . .) con queste parole: Desponsamus
te, Mare, in signum veri perpetuique domini.
[Perciocchè questa cerimonia] fu cagionata dalla
vittoria che hebbe la Repubblica quando fece giornata
con Othone figliuolo di Federigo Imperadore, per
difender & mantenere in stato Papa Alessandro III
(. . .). Il Ziani [Doge, 1173-8] ritornato
vincitore dalla giornata fatta in mare (. . .), il
Papa (. . .) gli donò un'anello & gli disse:
Ricevi questo, o Ziani, col quale tu, et tuoi soccessori,

userete ogni anno di sposare il mare (. . .); la Signoria d'esso Mare, acquistata per voi per antico possesso et per ragion di guerra, è vostra. Et (. . .) il mare è sottoposto al vostro Dominio, come la moglie al marito." 431

"In questa andata, e nel ritorno cantasi in mezo del viaggio da i Musici di San Marco innanzi al Prencipe qualche bel motteto." 432

"[fatta questa funzione del Sposalizio del Mare,] se ne ritorna [il Doge] in Bucintoro [al Lido], dove smontato (. . .) alla ripa di San Nicolò (. . .), s'invia alla Chiesa di San Niccolò, dove [ode] Messa, che viene solennemente cantata." 433

Given the obvious importance of Ascension Day, in terms both of local political history and of the Christian liturgical year, it comes as somewhat surprising to note the low-key nature of much of the published, liturgically appropriate musical repertory. During the first three decades of the Counter-Reformation (reckoning, that is, from the liturgical reforms of 1563) Ascension Day motets are few and far between, and those which do exist are frequently scored for a limited number of voices:⁴³⁴ thus, Zarlino's Ascendo ad patrem meum (1566),⁴³⁵ Andrea Gabrieli's O Rex gloriae (1565),⁴³⁶ the same composer's Ego rogabo patrem (1576),⁴³⁷ and Merulo's Ascendens Christus (1578)⁴³⁸ are scored respectively "a 6", "a 5", "a 4" and "a 5", while the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) of 1587 (which, as we have seen, contains large-scale compositions not only for occasional, "political" events but also for a few of the most important annual liturgical commemorations) is completely devoid of Ascension Day material.⁴³⁹ Suddenly, however, this situation changes. In the space of three short years, 1597-9, no less than twelve separate settings of Ascension Day texts appear in print: settings, moreover, which range in their number of voices from an absolute minimum of five to a notably high maximum of sixteen.⁴⁴⁰ Afterwards (in terms of large-scale music): nothing.⁴⁴¹ Not even in the combined Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .), II, and Reliquiae (. . .) (1615)⁴⁴² of Giovanni Gabrieli, or in the six to twelve-part Sacri concentus (. . .) (1618)⁴⁴³ of Grillo, do we find a single successor to the spate of publications at the end of the century.

How, then, are we to explain this sudden, if shortlived, outburst

of musical activity? A possible clue may lie in the title of a musical Rappresentazione performed on Ascension Day, 1595, before the newly crowned (and, as most of his kind, shortlived) Doge, Marino Grimani (1595-1605):

"Congratulatione Pastorale, rappresentata in Musica, per l'assunzione del Serenissimo Grimani al Principato, il giorno dell'Ascensione, 1595." 444

The coronation service fell, in fact, on April 26th;⁴⁴⁵ Ascension Day, 1595, on May 4th;⁴⁴⁶ hence, by chance, the Octave of Grimani's ascension to the throne of Venice would have coincided exactly with the Vigil of Christ's ascension to the throne of heaven. Such a happy correlation of historical and liturgical dates could hardly fail to find expression in the officially patronized culture of the "sacral" State of Venice. We have, after all, the precedent of Doge Marcantonio Trevisan (1553-4), whose election on the Octave of Corpus Domini had already prompted Titian to include, in an official portrait, the body of the dead, adult Christ, borne in the arms of the Virgin Mary;⁴⁴⁷ and that of Doge Lorenzo Priuli (1556-9), whose election on the third Sunday after Pentecost had led his official portraitist, Parassio Michiel, to depict him in the company of an emblem of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴⁸ Official State portraits make no such "liturgical" allusions to the date of Grimani's coronation (although this is only to be expected, since it is not the coronation itself, but merely its Octave, which can be traced to Ascensio Domini). Instead, attention appears to have been focussed upon the actual liturgical feast (and, indeed, on successive Ascension Day festivities, which may well have come to be seen as symbolic of the coronation anniversary), and an opportunity taken to illustrate, through liturgical parallel, one of the central tenets of local sacral philosophy: the semi-sacral nature of the ducal (and Venetian) pedigree which, as we have seen,⁴⁴⁹ ran from the Doge, through Mark and Peter, to the Risen Christ himself. Such is implied (if nothing more) by the title of the above-said Rappresentazione. And it is certainly anything but foreign to the text of our first Ascension Day motet, Bassano's five-part O Rex gloriae qui beatum Marcum:

"O Rex gloriae qui beatum Marcum Evangelistam
tuum evangelicae praedicationis gratia decorasti,
alleluia, fac nos quibus apparuit in terris
gaudentes in caelis videre mereamur, alleluia." 450

As we saw in Chapter I,⁴⁵¹ the first half of this text parallels closely the opening of the occasional prayer "Deus qui beatum Marcum Evangelistam tuum evangelicae praedicationis gratia sublimasti (. . .)" used, among other places, in the votive service which followed immediately upon the election of a Doge, and in the Votive Mass of Holy Trinity which was celebrated both on the day after and on the anniversary of his election; the remaining words, however, ("O Rex gloriae, (. . .) fac nos quibus apparuit in terris gaudentes in caelis mereamur") though essentially non-liturgical,⁴⁵² quite clearly refer to the ascension of the Risen Christ. The most plausible explanation: this work was composed for, and performed during, Vespers of the Vigil of Ascension, 1595, where it would have satisfied not only the requirements of the commemorative, liturgical Office (which, as we have seen, "(. . .) viene solennissimamente cantato") but also - allegorically speaking - those of the Octave of one of the greatest political occasions in the recent history of the Venetian Republic.

Examination of the text of a second Ascension Day motet - by far the largest of the group, Giovanni Gabrieli's sixteen-part Omnes gentes plaudite manibus⁴⁵³ - leads us to similar (if more tentative) conclusions vis-à-vis its possible politico-religious intentions:

"Omnes gentes plaudite manibus: iubilare Deo
in voce exultationis.

Quoniam Dominus excelsus, terribilis: rex magnus
super omnem terram.

Subiecit populos nobis: et gentes sub pedibus
nostris.

Elegit nobis haereditatem suam: speciem Iacob,
quem dilexit.

Ascendit Deus in iubilo: et Dominus in voce
tubae.

Psallite regi nostro, psallite, alleluia." 454

Originally a hymn by which the Chosen People, the Israelites, praised their God, this text - Ps. 46 (of which Verses 1-5 and the second half of Verse 6 have been utilized in the present musical setting) - now takes its place within the liturgy of Matins in Ascensione Domini.⁴⁵⁵ Allegorically speaking, it could just as well be Christ who "ascendit in iubilo", the Venetians for whom "elegit haereditatem suam", and the Doge himself (to whom State Ceremonial books frequently refer as "Dominus Dux"⁴⁵⁶) who "ascendit (. . .) in voce tubae". The omission from this particular musical setting of the opening words of Verse 6 serves only to strengthen the impact of the sentiments which follow: "psallite regi nostro [God, Christ or Grimani?], psallite."⁴⁵⁷ As for the music itself: the unusually large dimensions of this sixteen-part setting imply (if nothing more) a function far beyond the "mere" religious.

WHAT, HOWEVER, of the music for the other great Ascension Day festivity: the annual, "historical" commemoration of the Wedding of the Adriatic Sea? No motets have been preserved which mention this festivity by name; nor, indeed, have any madrigals (although we know that sometime after 1604 - perhaps, however, as late as 1730 - Stringa's "qualche bel motteto" were replaced by "certo Madrigal allegro"⁴⁵⁸); we should not, in fact, have the slightest idea as to the possible identity of any of this music were it not for a few stray, eye-witness comments by one of the many foreign visitors to Venice, the Englishman Richard Lassels. Writing in his travel memoirs of 1670, he describes the situation thus:

"They steere for two miles upon the Laguna, while the musick plays, and sings Epithalamiums all the way along, and makes Neptune jealous to heare Hymen called upon in his dominions." ⁴⁵⁹

Could, then, it be within the bounds of possibility that Giovanni Gabrieli's two epithalamial motets, Iubilate Deo omnis terra: quia sic benedicetur (a 8)⁴⁶⁰ and Iubilate Deo omnis terra: Deus Israel (a 10),⁴⁶¹ were originally conceived as liturgico-allegorical illustrations of this "political" marriage of Venice to the Adriatic Sea? Both texts refer specifically to the sacrament of Holy Matrimony. Yet, during the period of Gabrieli's employment at Venice (1585-1612), festive marriage ceremonies in San Marco were there none, neither do local chronicles and guide-books speak of similar festivities in any of the other major churches of the city.⁴⁶²

Thus, unless we may assume no less than two, (probably) separate, extra-Venetian commissions (of which record would not appear to have survived), we are left with a single inescapable conclusion: that both these works were written not in the service of private individuals, but in pursuit of the politico-religious aspirations of the Most Serene Republic of Venice.

The text of the first reads as follows (that of the second is identical, save for the omission of the words in parentheses):

"Iubilate Deo omnis terra: (quia sic benedicetur
homo qui timet Dominum.

Iubilate Deo omnis terra:) Deus Israel coniungat
vos, et ipse sit vobiscum.

(Mittat vobis) auxilium de sancto: tueatur vos
et de Sion.

Iubilate Deo omnis terra: benedicat vobis Dominus
ex Sion, qui fecit caelum et terram.

Iubilate Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in laetitia.

Iubilate Deo omnis terra."⁴⁶³

"Sic benedicetur homo qui timet Dominum" is the opening of the Communio in the Missa pro Sponso et Sponsa.⁴⁶⁴ "Deus Israel (. . .) sit vobiscum" is derived from the opening of the Introitus of the same.⁴⁶⁵ "Mittat vobis (. . .) et de Sion" and "benedicat vobis (. . .) caelum et terram" are two Graduale Versets,⁴⁶⁶ the former used throughout the liturgical year, the latter, however, restricted in its application to the period tempore Paschali (the period, that is, which runs from Dominica in Albis to Pentecost). And this latter is a fact of particular significance. It means, in effect, that the original performance of both these compositions took place, liturgically speaking, within the space of six short weeks: six weeks, moreover, within which falls Ascension Day, and with it the Wedding of the Sea. May we, then, imagine these motets performed upon the Bucintoro? - or afterwards, at Mass, in S.Niccolò del Lido? The case is hardly proven. But perhaps the evidence is not entirely unconvincing.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DOUBLE-CHOIR PSALMS

Niccolò Fausti, Maestro di cerimonie of St.Mark's from 1576 to 1598, in an undated addition "(. . .) tratta dalla tarifa del Maestro di Capella M.Isepo Zarlino" ⁴⁶⁷ to the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale of 1564, gives the following information:

"DIES IN QUIBUS CANTANTUR AD VESPERAS DUOBUS CHORIS.

MENSIS JANUARIJ.....	Die 1,, Circumcisionis Domini. Die 6, Epiphaniae Domini.
FEBRUARIJ.....	Die 1, Pridie [i.e., First Vespers] Purificationis quando non itur ad ecclesiam S.Mariae Formosae. Die 2, Purificationis B.Mariae.
MARTIJ.....	Die 24, Pridie Annunciationis B.Mariae. Die 25, Annunciationis B.M.
APRILIS.....	Die 24, Pridie festi S.Marci. Die 25, Festi S.Marci Evangelistae
JUNIJ.....	Die 24, S.Ioannis Baptistae Nati. Die 25, S.Marci Evangelistae Apparrissionis. Die 29, SS.Petri et Pauli Apost.
JULIJ.....	Die 2, Visitationis S.Mariae.
AUGUSTI.....	Die 14, Vigiliae [i.e., First Vespers] Assumptionis B.Mariae. Die 15, Assumptionis Vir.Mariae.
SEPTEMBRIS.....	Die 7, Vig.Nativitatis S.Mariae. Die 8, Nativitatis B.Mariae.
OCTOBRIS.....	Die 8, Dedicationis Ecclesiae S.Marci. Die 31, Vigiliae festi Omnium SS.
NOVEMBRIS.....	Die 1, In festo Omnium SS.
DECEMBRIS.....	Die 8, Conceptionis B.Mariae. Die 24, Vig.Nativitatis. Die 25, Nativitatis Domini. Die 26, S.Stephani Protomartyr. Die 27, S.Ioannis Evangelistae. Die 31, Pridie Circumcisionis Domini.

IN FESTIS

MOBILIBUS VERO.....In die S.Paschalis, et duobus sequentibus.
In Vig. Ascensionis, et in die.
In Vig. Pentecostes, et in tribus diebus sequentibus.
In festo S^{mae} Trinitatis." ⁴⁶⁸

The author of the main body of the manuscript, Bartolomeo Bonifacio, is even more specific. In the case of three of the feasts on Fausti's list he gives important qualifying information: namely, that on Second Vespers both in Visitatione and in Conceptione B.M.V. double-choir performance is actually discretionary,⁴⁶⁹ while on Vespers in festo S. Stephani the singers are required to perform in two choirs only "si possunt quod non sint impediti ad convivium Domini Ducis, sin autem in uno choro cantantur."⁴⁷⁰ Two ceremonies omitted altogether by Fausti - First Vespers in Apparitione Corporis S. Marci and Second Vespers in Translatione Domini (August 6th) - he identifies as occasions on which double-choir music is again a discretionary matter.⁴⁷¹ And most significantly of all, the texts of the double-choir repertory, unspecified by Fausti, he identifies unequivocally as the psalms: to his descriptions of Vespers in Circumcisione Domini, in Annunciatione B.M.V. and in Transfiguratione Domini already quoted in Chapter I,⁴⁷² may be added (among others) those of First and Second Vespers in Assumptione B.M.V. when "psalmi [and, apparently, only the psalms] cantantur (. . .) á cantoribus in duobus choris", Second Vespers in Dedicatione Ecclesiae S. Marci when "psalmi [cantantur] in (. . .) duobus choris", and First and Second Vespers in festo Omnium Sanctorum when "cantantur psalmi á cantoribus in duobus choris".⁴⁷³ Turning now to the musical repertory: it is apparent in both the contemporary publications of double-choir Vespers psalms that their contents reflect, in their liturgical derivations, the Fausti-Bonifacio specifications. Each of the eight Salmi spezzati di M. Adriano [Willaert] of 1550⁴⁷⁴ is proper, as shown in Appendix I, to one or more of the cited commemorations. And the twenty-one psalms in Croce's Vespertina omnium solemnium psalmodia (. . .)⁴⁷⁵ of 1597 provide full cover (i.e., five psalms per service) for all the feast days listed.⁴⁷⁶

Non-liturgical sources suggest that the Magnificat was also on occasion performed polychorally: besides an eight-part (double-choir) setting contained in Croce's Vespertina⁴⁷⁷ there is also the claim of Zarlino that "[lo] composi già molti anni a tre Chori."⁴⁷⁸ On this, however, Bonifacio is silent. Indeed, it would appear from what little information he supplies that even on those occasions when the psalms were performed by two four-part Cori spezzati the Magnificat might just as easily be divided alternatim between singers (perhaps, though not necessarily, in polyphony) and priests (in Gregorian chant).⁴⁷⁹

Zarlino's remark that the Salmi spezzati might be performed not only at Vespers but also at the "altre hore"⁴⁸⁰ of the greatest commemorative solemnities does, however, find a limited degree of corroboration not only in the musical publications - the Salmi, che si cantano a terza and Compietta a otto voci of Croce⁴⁸¹ - but also in liturgical books. Here, nevertheless, the reference is to a single ceremony only: that of Compline in Annunciazione B.M.V. "In utrisque vesperis," states Bonifacio in the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, "psalmi omnes cantantur solemnissime á duobus choris cantorum . et similiter psalmi completorij diej festi."⁴⁸² And indeed, to judge both from the list of singers' duties and from the remaining references to music for the "other" Office Hours which this manuscript contains,⁴⁸³ it would appear that Compline of March 25th was in this respect unique. Only here, at Compline in Dominica Resurrectionis and at Matins both in festo Corporis Christi and in Nativitate Domini was the attendance of the singers required.⁴⁸⁴ The Easter Office, which took place at the church of S.Zaccaria (with an accompanying Andata in Trionfo), was, however, "(. . .) dalle monache [of that church] musicalmente cantata";⁴⁸⁵ it was merely by coincidence that the singers of St.Mark's, who were responsible for the music of the Vespers immediately preceding,⁴⁸⁶ happened to be present. At Matins of Corpus Domini, "(. . .) cantores cantant tantum Te Deum";⁴⁸⁷ while at that of the Nativity, although "(. . .) nel primo nocturno le tre letion cantano li cantori in canto figurato"⁴⁸⁸ and "(. . .) le antifone, et responsorij tutti cantano li cantori",⁴⁸⁹ the psalms, it would appear, were rendered in Gregorian chant.⁴⁹⁰

As regards the date of origin of the tradition of performing the Willaert-style, double-choir psalms at St.Mark's the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale offers nothing of interest, besides the vaguest of indications that "in omnibus solemnitatibus olim (. . .) psalmi cantabantur (. . .) more georgiano."⁴⁹¹ More specific is the information on the musical style itself, and its musico-liturgical antecedents. However, with this we have already anticipated the opening theme of our fifth and final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCERTI, MOTTETTI AND SALMI SPEZZATI:
A COMPARISON IN MUSICAL STYLE

A. FUNCTION AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE.

"DE PSALMIS CANENDIS IN OMNIBUS SOLEMNITATIBUS.
In omnibus solemnitatibus, olim psalmi cantabantur
á capella parva, et á cantoribus qui ex pratica
cantant, si habebantur, sic dicebantur cantare
more georgiano. Hodie sic mos canendi abiit in
desuetudinem, et cantores maioris capellae cantant
omnes psalmos et reliqua, et psalmos cantant divisi
in duobus choris, vz. quatuor cantores in uno
choro, et reliqui omnes in altero, quia capella
parva non extat." 492

Comparison of this rubric with the information contained in Appendix II would suggest its application is rather more restricted than the heading "De psalmis canendis in omnibus solemnitatibus" might initially have implied. It is clear that even on the greatest solemnities the singers were rarely present during either Matins (when the majority of the psalms are recited) or the lesser Office Hours.⁴⁹³ And even during Vespers on these, the most solemn commemorative feasts, the psalms might exceptionally be intoned by priests.⁴⁹⁴ There can, however, be little doubt as to what its directives refer. Quite simply, to the eight-part, double-choir Salmi spezzati of the Willaert-Croce tradition: a tradition which, as we saw in Chapter IV,⁴⁹⁵ embraced Vespers of the majority of the solemnitates, together with, on rare occasions, Compline and (perhaps) Terce. Proof, if such indeed be required, may be found in one of the many Ceremonial-book descriptions of the Vespers which were celebrated on particular (individual) feasts: specifically, in that of the Vigil of Pentecost when (in exact conformity, both factually and linguistically, with the above-quoted, more general account) "(. . .) psalmos cantant cantores divisi in duobus choris, vz. quatuor cantores in uno choro, et reliqui omnes in altero." 496

It may, then, be stated quite categorically that the Salmi spezzati were not, as hitherto believed, performed antiphonally, but rather, responsorially, with four vocal soloists in one of the musical groups and the rest of the singers, anything up to nine (for the second half of the 16th century) or eighteen (for the early 17th century onwards),⁴⁹⁷ in the other. The precision, however, of the information provided by the Ceremonial books on this particular aspect of performance practice does not extend to one other, equally fundamental area: the participation, or not, of the organists and instrumentalists.

According to one of the general rubrics in the Ceremonial book of 1564 the organists were present during Vespers of almost all the most important feasts.⁴⁹⁸ Never, however, in the detailed descriptions of the various individual ceremonies are they mentioned specifically in connection with the accompaniment of the psalms.⁴⁹⁹ Perhaps it was assumed that every time the singers sang the organists also played; however, the purpose of any liturgical book being to record positively all regularly recurring practices, this would appear an unlikely interpretation. The evidence of the 16th-century prints, moreover, points vaguely to the prevalence of an a capella style. In particular, it is interesting to compare the eight-part motets (Vol.I, 1594; Vol.II, 1595) and eight-part Masses (1596) of Giovanni Croce, published by Giacomò Vincenti, all of which were provided with a separate bass part for organ,⁵⁰⁰ with the roughly contemporary - indeed, in two cases, slightly later (hence likely, in theory, to be more progressive) - eight-part Salmi for Terce (1591), Compline (1596) and Vespers (1597), likewise by Croce, and likewise printed by Vincenti, in which the organ part is absent.⁵⁰¹ All this evidence, however, being of an essentially negative nature, it seems impossible to come to any firm conclusions.

The other instrumentalists were certainly not normally involved in the accompaniment of the double-choir psalms. Never, in the Ceremonial book of 1564, is even their presence at Vespers recorded; they are not, in fact, mentioned in connection with this service until 1604, when Stringa refers to their participation at a single feast only, First Vespers in Nativitate Domini.⁵⁰² Perhaps, moreover, it is not entirely by chance that while such publications as Andrea Gabrieli's five-part motets (1565), Giovanni Gabrieli's six to sixteen-part Sacrae Symphoniae, I (1597), and Croce's five-part motets (1601) are described on their respective title-pages as "apt for both voices and instruments",⁵⁰³ the Vespers psalms of Willaert and the Terce and Vespers psalms of Croce are not: on the contrary, these are "accomodati da cantare a (. . .) duoi chori", "Salmi che si cantano a terza" and "(. . .) psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda". In view of the existence, however, in other publications of Venetian sacred music, of such titles as Merulo's Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, liber primus and liber secundus (1578) and Croce's Compietta a otto voci (1591), neither of which mention either voices

or instruments, and Croce's Motetti a otto voci (. . .) comodi per le voci, e per cantar con ogni stromento (1594), where the instruments actually "sing", it is clear that title-page terminology can not be regarded as a totally reliable guide to performance.

Returning, however, to those musicians who were definitely present, namely the singers, the question now arises: from where, exactly, in the church did the two "opposing" groups perform? According to the Istitutioni harmoniche (. . .) of Zarlino, "[i] Chori si pongono alquanto lontani l'un dall'altro" ⁵⁰⁴ - a statement which seems to have given rise to the supposition that in San Marco they were housed quite separately, one in each of the organ lofts on either side of the Choir. ⁵⁰⁵ Neither this latter assumption, however, nor the comments on which it is based, are borne out by the contemporary documents of the Ducal Basilica. The latter, indeed, contain four separate statements to the contrary:

1. An entry in the Acts of the Procuratia de Supra (the body responsible for the day to day administration of St. Mark's) describes how on Sunday, October 7th, 1589, First Vespers in dedicatione Ecclesiae S. Marci, there had been an argument in church as to whether the psalms of that service were, or were not, to be sung in two choirs. ⁵⁰⁶ Master of Ceremonies, Niccolò Fausti, said "yes"; the singers "no". The singers had liturgical tradition on their side (no-one, in fact, could recall a single precedent for the Maestro's directives). Fausti, nevertheless, had his way, and so "il Zago dei libri portò in pergolo i libri per cantar a dui cori; (. . .) fu detto il Vespero che cantarono li cantori a dui cori." ⁵⁰⁷ This pergolo is identified by Stringa as the hexagonal structure which stands in the nave of the church at the southern end of the iconostasis; on it, he says, "quasi per l'ordinario, e specialmente nelle feste solenni, e quando discende la Signoria in Chiesa, cantano i Musici alla Messa maggiore, & al Vespro." ⁵⁰⁸ The procuratorial Act contains the names of thirteen musicians "che erano all'ora in pergolo": ⁵⁰⁹ director Baldassare Donato and twelve singers, two of whom are identifiable as sopranos, three as counter-tenors, three as tenors and three as basses (the vocal range of the twelfth, a certain "Fra Gio: Ang^o de f^{ci}", is not specified, but he was presumably a third soprano). These performed four of the five psalms according to the standard, double-choir practice outlined above. Of the fifth,

however, no such double-choir setting could be found (there never having been need for it in the past), so this they sang instead in falso bordone.

The other three statements are all from the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale:


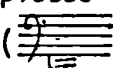
2. "DE SANCTO IOHANNES BAPTISTA . [in secundis vesperis] . 1558 . de ordine serm^{mi} p. et (. . .) procuratorum, (. . .) facimus solemnitatem magnam (. . .) . cantoribus cantantur psalmi in duobus choris (. . .) in choro, ad altare maius." 510
3. "In Vigilia vero Ascensionis cantores (. . .) cantant divisi in duobus choris alternatim . (. . .) . Sua Serenitas ascendit pulpitem magnum et ibi audit vesperas . (. . .) cantores cantant in pulpito novo lectionum, licet anguste maneant in eo . cum vero Sermus Dominus Dux sedet in choro tunc cantores locantur in pulpito magno." 511
4. "[DE SANCTO MARCO . In primis vesperis] . Dominus vero Dux ascendit pulpitem cantorum, et ibi audit vesperas (. . .) . Hodie tamen non fit chorus in medio ecclesiae quia Dominus Dux non ascendit pulpitem ut olim." 512

In the first of these excerpts, the singers stand on the floor of the Choir, near the High Altar. In the second, their preferred position is the pulpitem magnum cantorum (synonymous with the hexagonal pergolo); more often, however, this is occupied by the Doge, and they sing instead from the pulpitem novum lectionum, a two-storey structure which stands, like the pergolo, in the nave, this time however at the north end of the iconostasis. In the third their position is not explicitly stated; however, it may be inferred, if only tentatively, that although formerly, having been displaced from the hexagonal pergolo by the Doge, they were situated with the Chorus of priests in medio ecclesiae,⁵¹³ they are "nowadays" free (the Doge having moved elsewhere) to take up residence in what according to Stringa was their regular position, the pulpitem magnum cantorum. In no case, in the Ceremonial book of 1564, are the singers assigned to the organ lofts for the singing of the double-choir psalms. In no case, either, is it required that they be divided into two, spatially separated groups. Indeed, the whole need for spatial separation as an aid to distinguishing aurally between the two groups of singers would surely have been obviated

by the responsorial alternations of soloists and ripieno choir so central to the liturgically prescribed manner of Salmi spezzati performance. It would appear that the remarks of Zarlino - addressed, perhaps, less to his colleagues in Venice as to the musical world at large - relate more to double-choir performance practice in general than to the particular set of conditions which governed the performance of the psalms during Vespers at St. Mark's. His very choice of the Willaert Salmi as illustrative material may well, indeed, have been determined by sheer expedient: in 1558, when the Istitutioni (. . .) was first published, no other polychoral music would have been readily available to his readers in print.

LET US TURN to the Concerti. It is only to be expected that a repertory conceived, or largely conceived, for a series of quite unrelated, special occasions will tend to exhibit in its manner of performance a minimum of stylistic unity, and to reflect instead the differing musico-liturgical, -ceremonial and -political requirements of each individual event. Thus, the remarkable range in number of voices displayed by the contents both of the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (1587) - a minimum of six, a maximum of sixteen - and of Giovanni's two volumes of Sacrae Symphoniae (1597 and 1615).⁵¹⁴ Thus, also, some apparent inconsistency in the use of organists and instrumentalists: one occasional Mass will be "(. . .) cantata solennemente per la capella" (and, apparently, by only the choir, without instrumental accompaniment),⁵¹⁵ while on several other of the occasional festivities the "sonatori" were, as we shall now see, to be particularly conspicuous.

"Si fecero concerti divinissimi, (. . .) sonandosi (. . .) l'uno, e (. . .) l'altro organo con ogni sorte di stromenti, e di voci (. . .)", "s'incominciò a cantar messa, con quella maggiore solennità (. . .) di canti, et suoni (. . .)", "la messa (. . .) fu (. . .) piena di diversi concerti d'instrumenti et voci", "fu fatto musica con li doi organi et sonatori et li cantori", "vi si era fatto un palco novo per li cantori, et aggiunto un'organo portatile; accioché insieme con li due notabili di Chiesa, et gli altri stromenti musicali facesse più celebre la armonia", "se li canta la messa (. . .) con li otto sonatori del Principe con instrumenti con li cantori, et in organo":⁵¹⁶ clearly, on at least six of the most important occasional events, both organists and

instrumentalists participated fully, alongside the singers, as an integral part of the musical ensemble.⁵¹⁷ On the greatest liturgical commemorations (at which, as we have seen, Concerti might also be performed) the situation was similar: the reader is referred to the descriptions of First Vespers and Mass in Nativitate Domini, Mass in Annunciatione B.M.V. and Mass in die S.Iustinae quoted above on pp. 21 and 87. The evidence of the documentary sources is reflected in the music itself. No less than ten of the works in the Concerti di Andrea, & Gio: Gabrieli (. . .)⁵¹⁸ descend in the Bass to (a most probably, though not necessarily, instrumental) C (). In the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I (1597) and II (1615) of Giovanni Gabrieli this number is considerably larger;⁵¹⁹ indeed, several of the pieces in both collections descend even further, to B or even Bb ().⁵²⁰ The inclusion among the Concerti (. . .) and the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I, of several works⁵²¹ in which a single, four-part choir bears the designation Capella (or Capella de' cantori) points clearly to the fact that other four-part choirs (in these particular works) consist of other things; in the Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .), II, we find this to be exactly the case, with the specification not only of a ripieno group (invariably, still, an independent, four-part choir) but also of Cornetti, Violini, Tromboni and Voci (presumably, solo voices).⁵²² As for the organs: neither the Concerti (. . .) nor the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I, furnish any evidence for their use; but the Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .), II, and the two volumes (1598 and 1599) of Giovanni Bassano's Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici (. . .) all include, in individual part-books, a basso seguente accompaniment.

Clearly, then, in respect of the forces they employ, Salmi and Concerti traditions stand many miles apart: Salmi with their plain, not to say austere, a capella alternations of vocal soloists and choir, Concerti with their colourful mixtures of voices (both solo and choral), organs, wind instruments and strings. The contrast, however, does not end here. The sheer variety of sounds - and hence the sheer number of musicians - involved in the performance of the Concerti prompts the question: where, if not in the pulpitum magnum cantorum (capacity c.20), were all these musicians housed? The answer is provided in passing by a passage from the Acts of the Procuratia de Supra:

"Adì 2. April. Havendo (. . .) Zuane Croce Maestro di Capella raccordato all'Ill^{mi} (. . .) Proc^{ri}, che occorendo far musica sopra li organi à tempo, che il S. P. et la Ser^{ma} Sig^{ria} vien in chiesa è necessario, che vi sia alcuno intelligente, che serva sopra li organi à dimostrar la batuda si come viene regolata da esso Maestro. Et perché sopra l'organo del Gabrieli vi è (. . .) Zuane Bassano capo dei concerti, il qual da quella parte ha questo carico, et dall'altra parte si solea servir esso Maestro del (. . .) fra Agostin minoritano cantor di capella, il qual essendo partito dalla Città già alcuni giorni et senza licentia alcuna, ne ha voluto dar not^a a SS. SS. Ill^{mi} acio sia fatta quella provisione che le parerà migliore, perché le musiche passino con quell'honore, et decoro publico, che è mente di SS. SS. Ill^{mi} (. . .).⁵²³

This account, which by reason of its position in the Register may be dated to 1607, must refer principally to Concerti, and not to the Salmi spezzati: frequently, even when (contrary to its stated terms of reference) neither Doge nor Senators were present, the psalms would be performed in double-choir settings.⁵²⁴ Two conductors, it would appear, were located in the organ lofts. One was Fra Agostin, a member of the choir. The other was Capo dei concerti, the cornettist Giovanni Bassano: a definite indication, this, of the likelihood that here also were situated the other instrumentalists, together with those few vocal soloists who according to the recommendations of Michael Praetorius were to be interspersed among the predominantly instrumental choirs.⁵²⁵ Both these figures were entrusted with the task of relaying the beat, as indicated by Maestro di cappella Giovanni Croce, to the musicians in their charge. As for Croce himself: he, together with, or near to, a separate group of performers, can only have been located at quite some distance from the rest (otherwise, why the need to relay the beat?) The obvious question is "where?"

The documentary evidence outlines several possibilities. It would seem that sometimes, space permitting, he might direct the proceedings from the floor of the Choir: as was apparently the case during Mass on January 22nd 1579 when, in the presence of the five visiting Austrian Archdukes - and in the absence of all but five representatives of Venetian Church and State⁵²⁶ - "(. . .) fu fatto musica con li doi organi et sonatori et li cantori in cote in coro."⁵²⁷ On other occasions he might be situated either in the two-storey Gospel-Epistle lectern (the pulpitum novum lectionum) or in the pulpitum magnum cantorum: as during Mass of Easter Sunday (a feast

for which several Concerti have been preserved), when "(. . .) cantores (. . .) ascendunt pulpitem lectionum ubi cantant Missam, quia hodie Dominus Dux facta confessione Missae ascendit pulpitem magnum in quo audit Missam . si vero Dominus Dux remanet in choro ad Missam . cantores ascendunt pulpitem magnum ad canendam Missam." ⁵²⁸ And on still others, it is possible that he stood in a third, temporary pulpit, specially erected for the event: as during Mass in honour of the four Japanese princes (June 29th, 1585), for which "(. . .) vi si era fatto un palco novo per li cantori." Whatever the case, he seems almost invariably (and in view of his official title Maestro di cappella quite rightly so) to have taken command of the ripieno choir - which group, according to each of the above-quoted statements, was the only one to have been situated, like him, quite separately from the musicians in the galleries. This means that he must, like this choir, have been located at ground-floor level. Any problems of communication between him and his two assistants need not have proved insurmountable, since at least one of the organ lofts is always clearly visible both from the floor of the Choir, the Gospel-Epistle lectern and the pulpitem magnum cantorum.

It is, in the light of the above discussion, more than probable that the phrase "nelli organi", which appears in a description of the music for the ducal investiture - "(. . .) in questa, et in ogni solennità mazor se canta nelli organi dalli cantori over si sona dalli sonatori" ⁵²⁹ - is to be interpreted not as meaning "to the accompaniment of the organs", but rather "in the organ lofts" (an interpretation which would, incidently, prove that not only in the Germany of Praetorius, but also in the Venice of the Gabrieli, the segregation between singers on the one hand, and instrumentalists and organists on the other, was by no means complete, some of the former - indeed, on occasion, all of the former, if not otherwise required by exigencies of ducal ceremonial - being situated in the same position as the latter). This description, however, which is taken from the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale of 1564, has in a slightly later Ceremonial book (largely copied from the first) been altered to read "varij concerti de sonadori et in organo"; ⁵³⁰ which latter term, as used in a description of a Low Mass held in the Church of the Crociferi on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the investiture of Doge Pasquale Cicogna (1585-95), ⁵³¹ without the participation of the singers, ⁵³² can refer only to music for organ alone (and not to the location of the musicians). In the final analysis, then, both "nelli organi" and "in organo" elude all attempts to arrive at a single, "universal" definition.

Be that as it may, the undoubted segregation (on the majority of occasions) of the Capella de' cantori from the rest of the musical ensemble is faithfully reflected in much of the published musical repertory. It is immediately apparent in the very use of the designation Capella: this, as we have seen, is in every case reserved exclusively for one (and one only) of the four-part polychoirs, within which it is applied (with only two exceptions) to all its component voices.⁵³³ Also, however, it has a specifically stylistic dimension: namely, in the harmonic structure of this so-called Capella choir which, in contrast to its predominantly instrumental partners (which stand much more closely together, both in timbre and location), is with one exception harmonically self-sufficient and complete.⁵³⁴ One is inevitably reminded of the comments of the contemporary theorist, Giovanni Maria Artusi. "Hoggidì," he writes, "li compositori (. . .), nelle Cantilene fatte, per gli concerti [concerto used here in one of its specifically musical senses: see above, pp.11-12] pongono le parti più gravi cioè i Bassi dell' uno, & altro Choro distanti, per una Quinta, Terza, & Ottava; quasi sempre si sente non sò che di tristo, che offende l'udito (. . .); & quei Chori, che si ritrovano lontani l'uno dall'altro, (. . .) quando il loro Basso (. . .) è diventato parte di mezo si può dire, che quel Coro sia senza Basso e fondamento; & qual buono effetto potrà fare, se la fabrica sarà in un luoco, e'l fondamento altrove? qual soave Harmonia può apportare, lo sentire tre ò quattro parti d'una Cantilena senza il Basso; ò tanto lontano talvolta, che à pena si sentono?"⁵³⁵ For him, as indeed for the Gabrieli, the physical separation of one polychoir from the others appears to have underlined the need for its harmonic self-sufficiency.

ON THE UPPERMOST musico-liturgical level, Mottetti and Concerti are identical. Concerti, as the Ferrarese treatise Il Desiderio of Hercole Bottrigari affirms, are performed not only on the most important political occasions but also on "(. . .) solennità grandissime della Chiesa";⁵³⁶ this dictum is reflected (1) as we have seen,⁵³⁷ in the liturgical derivations of the texts set to music in the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .), the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I and II, of Giovanni Gabrieli, and the Motetti per concerti

ecclesiastici (. . .), I and II, of Bassano, (2) in the means of accommodating the musicians,⁵³⁸ and (3) in the principles of instrumentation which, as noted on p.113, are for both occasional and commemorative Concerti exactly the same.

It is on lower rungs of the liturgico-musical ladder that principles of performance begin to differ. Since, however, the subject has already been treated in some detail above (see pp.88-90) it will merely be summarized here. On all Duplex-class festivities the participation of both singers and organists was required; yet extra musicians were never employed, and instrumentalists are never recorded as having been present. Other, lesser commemorations did not in themselves require the presence of the singers; provided, however, the commemoration in question fell neither on Thursday nor Friday (their regular rest days), the latter would normally be present as for the celebration of the ordinary ferial liturgy, although in such cases their performance would invariably proceed a capella, without the organ accompaniment characteristic of the Duplex and Duplex maius-class solemnities. Singers were, in general, located in the pulpitum magnum cantorum. Exceptionally, however, they might instead be positioned in the Choir.⁵³⁹

TO SUMMARIZE, then: The generally celebrative function of Concerti (whether occasional or commemorative in function) is reflected (1) in the large number of performers they require, (2) in the large and colourful variety of instruments and voices they employ, and (3) in the spectacular effects they obtain through the placing of musicians in spatially separated groups, in the Choir, in the organ lofts and in the various pulpits of the nave. The (comparatively) workaday function of both Salmi and Mottetti is, on the other hand, to be detected (1) in the relatively small number of performers (graduated, in the case of Mottetti, according to the liturgical classification of the feast in hand) they employ, (2) in the absence from the ensemble (a) of instrumentalists and (b) not infrequently (again, in the case of Mottetti, depending on liturgical classification) of organists, and (3) in the confinement of the singers to a single, liturgically pre-ordained and ceremonially appropriate position (generally, as we have seen, the pulpitum magnum cantorum). In short, while Concerti tend specifically to emphasise, in both musical and visual terms, the enormous sense

of grandeur which accompanied the greatest politico-religious events, both Salmi and Mottetti are governed in the last resort by essentially pragmatic considerations. One is music for effect, the other is music in the service of the liturgy.

Having thus, so to speak, set the scene, through our examination of the relationship of performance practice to liturgical and ceremonial function, we now proceed one stage further: to a discussion of the various effects of this "context" upon the stylistic minutiae of the music itself.

B. FUNCTION AND MUSICAL STYLE.

Certainly, the most liturgically orientated of the three polyphonic repertoires under discussion are the double-choir Salmi spezzati. Unlike Concerti, their use is limited strictly to liturgical commemorations. Unlike both Concerti and Mottetti, they are rarely if ever performed if not in their regular liturgical positions. Unlike both Concerti and Mottetti, their texts are invariably set in their entirety.⁵⁴⁰ And unlike both Concerti and Mottetti their manner of performance, as outlined above, is based strictly upon long-established liturgical practice.

This strictly liturgical orientation is also to be observed in three of the more purely stylistic characteristics of the Salmi:

(1) The strict correspondence of the overall structure of the music to that of the liturgical text. Strict alternation of the choirs every verse (occasionally every half verse) is rarely broken except in the Doxology tuttis and, in the longer psalms, by a number of melismatic and imitative duos. Individual verses (or half-verses) themselves appear as closed musical blocks. Rapid dialogue, for purely musical effect, is seldom employed. This basic plan, in its various permutations (few as these are), is demonstrated clearly in the two extant, 16th-century settings - respectively by Willaert and Croce - of Ps. 138, Domine, probasti me (Example 1):⁵⁴¹

VERSE ⁵⁴²	VERSE INCIPIT	WILLAERT (1550), (Octavi Toni)	CROCE (1597), (Quinti Toni)
1 i	Domine, probasti me	Tenor, I * plainchant	Tenor I * plainchant
1 ii	tu cognovisti	I	I
2 i	Intellexisti	II	II
2 ii	et omnes		I
3	Ecce tu, Domine	I	II
4	Mirabilis	II	I & II (a little rapid dialogue; the vers. is then continued b. I and finished by I
5	Quo ibo	I	I
6	Si ascendero	II	II
7	Si sumpsero	I	I
8	Etenim	II (Cantus & Tenor only)	II (Tenor & Bassus only)
9	Et dixi	I (Tenor & Bassus only)	I (Cantus & Tenor only)
10 i	Quia tenebrae	II (Altus & Bassus only)	II
10 ii	et nox sicut		I
11 i	Sicut tenebrae	I	II
11 ii	quia tu possedisti		I (Altus & Bassus only)
12	Confitebor	II	II (Cantus & Altus only)
13	Non est occultatum	I	I

(* The Roman numerals "I" and "II" refer to
"Choir I", "Choir II".)

VERSE	VERSE INCIPIT	WILLAERT (1550), (Octavi Toni)	CROCE (1597), (Quinti Toni)
14	Imperfectum	II	II
15 i	Dies formabuntur	I	I
15 ii	mihi autem		
16 i	Dinumerabo	II	II (initially, however, in a bar of rapid dialogue with I)
16 ii	si occidat		I
17 i	Viri sanguinum	I	II
17 ii	quia dicitis		
18	Nonne	II	I
19 i	Perfecto	I	II
19 ii	et inimici		I
20 i	Proba me	II	I & II (rapid dialogue)
20 ii	interroga me		II
21	Et vide	I	I
	Doxology	I & II (initially, II alone; then both choirs together; no rapid dialogue)	I & II (initially, rapid dialogue; then both choirs together)

(2) The thoroughgoing use of the Gregorian psalm-tone. Salmi invariably begin with the appropriate plainchant intonation, whose characteristic turning points of Initium, Flexa, Mediatio and Finalis are then frequently conserved - generally in the Tenor, but also sometimes in the Cantus and occasionally in the other parts - in the remaining (polyphonic) verses. This is clearly illustrated by the two extant settings (again, respectively, by Willaert and Croce) of Ps. 112, Laudate pueri Dominum,⁵⁴³ both of which take as their point of departure Psalm-tone 1 (Example 2). Such strict adherence to the psalm-tone is characteristic of all the Salmi spezzati of Willaert, where the plain-song frequently provides melodic material not only for the entire cantus firmus but also for a certain amount of rudimentary imitation in the other voices: as has recently been pointed out, "hardly a verse of Laudate pueri is free from the three rising notes of the opening of tone 1."⁵⁴⁴ In the Salmi of the later composer, Croce, however, the influence of the plainsong original more frequently extends only to the opening motif of the cantus firmus - at times not even that, as witnessed by his setting of Ps. 145, Lauda anima mea Dominum (Example 3).⁵⁴⁵

(3) Clarity of word setting. The essentially declamatory style - syllabic, not infrequently with elementary, note-against-note counterpoint - ensures maximum intelligibility of text; melismatic passages, when they do occur, are invariably accompanied by a reduction of the musical texture from four parts to two (as though to compensate for the lack of clarity in the linear aspects of the setting), and word intelligibility is further ensured by the fact that natural speech-rhythm and -accentuation are used throughout as the basis for the rhythm of the music. Good illustrations of this occur in Examples 1a, 1b and, although to a slightly lesser degree, 2a, 2b and 3.

Having thus concluded our all too summary discussion of the three most obviously liturgical aspects of musical style in the Salmi spezzati (more detailed analysis of these works, though not in a specifically liturgical context, is available elsewhere⁵⁴⁶), we now turn immediately to an examination - under the same three headings - of the other essentially commemorative, polyphonic group: Mottetti.

THE MUSICAL STRUCTURE of Mottetti, like that of the Salmi, is based in the majority of cases upon the structure of the liturgical

text: Strunk's sub-classification of this repertory into Respond, Antiphon, Sequence and Psalm types (to name but the most important) is as valid for Venice as it is for 16th-century Europe in general.⁵⁴⁷

The fully-developed Respond-motet we may best illustrate through reference to the concrete example of Baldassare Donato's five-part Emendemus in melius - Peccavimus cum patribus (Example 4).⁵⁴⁸ This work, typical of many, is divided into two, distinctly separate partes.⁵⁴⁹ Pars I sets the text of the actual Respond (Emendemus); Pars II sets that of the Verset (Peccavimus)⁵⁵⁰ and ends with a repetition, to its original music, of the concluding line of the Respond; the overall musical form, which may be described as "A1 A2 (Pars I), B A2 (Pars II)", thus reproduces faithfully the liturgical sequence "R, V, final section of R" to which the text, when sung in plainchant, would necessarily have conformed. Other Respond-motets set Respond and Verset as a single movement.⁵⁵¹ The overall musical pattern "A1 A2, B A2", however, together with that of the liturgical text ("R, V, final section of R"), remains essentially unaltered.

Sometimes (though by no means always), repetition structure in a polyphonic setting may derive not from that of the text as performed in the everyday liturgy, but from its rhyme scheme. Take, for example, Donato's six-part setting of the Marian Antiphon Ave Regina caelorum (Example 5).⁵⁵² Lines 5 ("Gaude gloriosa") and 6 ("Super omnes speciosa") show no obvious signs of musical pairing. But the melodic contours (marked "x") given lines 1 ("Ave Regina caelorum") and 2 ("Ave Domina angelorum") are practically identical. And there are, perhaps, certain similarities between the final parts of the motifs accorded the two lines which follow, "Salve radix et porta", "[Ex qua mundo] lux est orta."⁵⁵³

The most commonly adopted motet structure, however, envisages a much looser relationship between musical and (strictly) liturgical structures. It has been termed by Strunk the "through composed" type.⁵⁵⁴ Antiphon-motets (in all their liturgical sub-categories⁵⁵⁵ save the above-mentioned Marian type), and works whose texts are liturgically incomplete (in particular, settings of Responds without their Versets,⁵⁵⁶ Versets without their Responds,⁵⁵⁷ and sections of Responds with sections of their Versets⁵⁵⁸). These, invariably, are settings of texts which possess no predetermined repetition scheme, whether liturgical (as in the "R, V, final section of R" pattern)

or rhyme (as in the Marian Antiphon Ave Regina caelorum). Accordingly, if the structure of the polyphonic setting is, at least, to mirror that of the text, each successive phrase of the latter will receive its own, individual musical treatment. As illustration, we quote here Donato's five-part Derelinquat impius viam (Example 6),⁵⁵⁹ a Respond (without Verset) used at Matins, Dominica I, & infra Hebd. I Quadragesima.⁵⁶⁰ Throughout, the divisions between successive phrases of the text (after "suam", "suas", "Dominum", "eius" and "est") are scrupulously respected. And only infrequently are words within phrases repeated. Thus (as would indeed be even more true in the case of the Antiphons whose texts, as they appear in the liturgy, are themselves in a manner of speaking "through composed") liturgical requirements are to some extent fulfilled.

Psalm-motets also, notwithstanding the highly structured nature both of their texts and of the chants to which they are normally performed in the liturgy, exhibit an essentially "through composed" structure - as witness Andrea Gabrieli's five-part setting of Ps.95 (Cantate Domino canticum novum), verses 1-4 (Example 7).⁵⁶¹ Of particular interest here, of course, is the obvious contrast with the Salmi spezzati tradition. And there are other differences. The various antiphonal - or rather, responsorial - possibilities of psalm performance so openly exploited in the double-choir psalms are in Gabrieli's motet, with the sole exception of Pars II tt.22-30, non-existent. Individual verses (or half-verses) are not always portrayed as closed musical blocks; instead, the musical setting of one phrase of text frequently overlaps with that of the next. In fact, the only concession to strictly liturgical performance is that within individual parts the traditional psalm-verse divisions (both internal and between successive verses) are, as with phrase divisions in the other "through composed" motets, retained.

The antithesis between Psalm-motets and Salmi spezzati may, indeed, be said to represent in miniature the essential difference between motet and Salmi repertoires in general. Just as the rigidly liturgical structure of the double-choir psalms reflects the strictly liturgical context in which this group of compositions was performed, the rather more flexible character of the Mottetti (sometimes rigidly liturgical, just as frequently not) betrays their own, essentially liturgico-commemorative, yet at the same time votive function (i.e. performed

outside their immediate liturgical position). Let us see, now, how this function is reflected in the two other areas of musical style discussed with respect to the Salmi: use of Gregorian chant, and word setting.

Few motets employ liturgical chant - in whatever form, quoted as a cantus firmus (either verbatim or slightly elaborated), used as the basis for polyphonic imitation (though never actually quoted), or both of these together. Those which do are generally, as one might expect, settings of traditional formulae - Sequences and Marian Antiphons, for example - highly revered in the liturgy and hence, perhaps, less subject to musical "profanation" than the majority of liturgical texts.⁵⁶² Compare, for example, the opening polyphony of Donato's six-part Ave Regina caelorum (see above, Example 5) with the plainsong melody (in this case not actually quoted) to which this text is set in the Venetian and Tridentine liturgies (Example 8).⁵⁶³ It may be seen that the latter, whether transposed (Tenor, tt.19-21, at the words "Domina angelorum") or at its original pitch (Tenor, tt. 4-13; Cantus, tt.11-16; and Quintus, tt.17-20), is never far away. In Zarlino's six-part Sequence Victimae paschali laudes - Dic nobis Maria (Example 9)⁵⁶⁴ the chant is quoted recognizably throughout. Often (for example, Pars I, tt.31-48), it contributes nothing to the surrounding polyphony. At other points, however, (Pars I, tt.1-18, for example) it is imitated closely in the other voices.

As already noted, however, more representative of the repertory at large are those works in which the influence of plainchant is nowhere to be found. Donato's five-part setting of the Respond and Verset Sancta et immaculata (Example 10)⁵⁶⁵ is typical: although its perfectly liturgical structure ("R, V, final section of R") might have led us to expect a more generally liturgical orientation, the music is entirely lacking in references to liturgical chant, whether of the Venetian or Tridentine variety.⁵⁶⁶

As regards the setting of the words the situation is broadly speaking parallel. The liturgically orientated, homophonic declamation which we noted in connection with the Salmi spezzati is only infrequently adopted; when it is, it either serves an obviously practical purpose (such as the need to compress a text of considerable length, such as the Pater noster, into the shortest possible musical space: see Donato's five-part setting,⁵⁶⁷ Example 11) or acts as a

means of setting apart the most important words and phrases of the text from their neighbours (as with the climactic prayer "O Mater Dei, ora pro nobis", which appears towards the end of the Ave Maria: see Donato's five-part setting,⁵⁶⁸ Example 12; or the direct speech "Iesum quem quaeritis non est hic" with which the angel addresses the Marys, before the tomb of Christ, in the Easter Respond Maria Magdalene: see Andrea Gabrieli's four-part setting,⁵⁶⁹ Example 13). In short, the prevailing style is definitely contrapuntal. Only within individual parts does the composers' concern for intelligibility of the text become apparent: as Examples 11-13 show, immediate repetition of single words or groups of words does occasionally occur, but the basic divisions between successive sections of the text are generally reflected in the music by means of rests, and individual musical rhythms are (as, indeed, in almost all sacred music of the post-Counter-Reformation period) modelled closely upon the natural rhythm of the spoken word.

WORD INTELLIGIBILITY in the Concerti is little better: whatever is gained by way of a rather more homophonic, word-for-word musical setting is quickly lost in the intricacies of spatial separation, the multiplicity of parts, the employment of much greater numbers of musicians, and the tendency on the part of both instrumentalists and vocal soloists to enrich the composers' original score with improvised embellishments.⁵⁷⁰ Gregorian chant, moreover, is not as a rule employed. One of the few exceptions, Andrea Gabrieli's seven-part Iudica me, Deus, is, as we have seen,⁵⁷¹ a special case, in which the inclusion of a long, slow cantus firmus reflects the particular context - that of the funeral of Doge Mocenigo - in which this work was to serve. The others, all Magnificats (not even in the Sequences and Marian Antiphons is there a trace of Gregorian chant), all eschew the plainsong melody after the briefest of introductory intonations.⁵⁷²

This immediately sets the double-choir (or otherwise) Concerti quite clearly apart from their double-choir neighbours the Salmi spezzati. And there are other differences. Compare, for example, their respective manners of distributing the text between the various musical groups: that used by Willaert and Croce in their settings of the Vespers psalm Domine, probasti me (Ps.138 : tabulated on

pp.119-20 , above), and that adopted by Andrea Gabrieli in his eight-part (two-choir) Concerto, Exurgat Deus (Ps.67 , vv.1-3, for the music of which see Example 14):⁵⁷³

VERSE	TEXT	tt.	M A N N E R O F D I S T R I B U T I O N	
			Ch. I	Ch. II
1 i	Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius:	1-8		Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius,
		8-14	Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius:	
1 ii	et fugiant, qui oderunt eum a facie eius.	14-15		et fugiant,
		15-19	et fugiant, qui oderunt eum a facie eius,	
		19-20		et fugiant
		20-24	qui oderunt eum a facie eius.	
2 i	Sicut deficit sumus deficient:	24-8		Sicut deficit sumus deficient,
		28-31	Sicut deficit sumus deficient:	
2 ii	sicut fluit cera. a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei	31-7	sicut fluit cera a facie ignis,	
		38-9		sic pereant,
		39-42	sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei,	
		42-4		sic pereant peccatores,
		44	peccatores	
		45-7	a facie Dei,	

VERSE	TEXT	tt.	M A N N E R O F D I S T R I B U T I O N	
			Ch. I	Ch. II
3 i	Et iusti epulentur, et exultent in conspectu Dei:	47-50		Et iusti epulentur,
		50-51	Et iusti epulentur,	
		53-4		et exultent,
		54-5	et exultent,	
		55-8		et exultent in conspectu Dei,
		58-9	et exultent	
		59-61	in conspectu Dei:	
3 ii	et delectentur in laetitia.	61-2	et delectentur,	
		62-3		et delectentur.
		63-77	et delectentur in laetitia.	

Here, in contrast to the Salmi spezzati, musical and liturgical structures have little in common. Whereas in the double-choir psalms individual verses (or half-verses) are entrusted in their entirety to one or other of the four-voice choirs - a rigidly liturgical structure reflecting thus a strictly liturgical function -, here they are shared between the opposing musical groups. Textual repetitions, virtually absent from the Salmi spezzati, now become a pretext for rapid, inter-choir dialogue of an overtly musical (i.e., non-liturgical) type. True, as Example 14 shows, the final phrase - or phrase repetition - of each half-verse is generally accompanied (as though to suggest a break between it and the half-verse which follows) both by a tutti and by movement towards a definite IV-I or V-I cadence. On two occasions (vv.1 i, and 2 i) out of six, however, the tutti rule is broken; and IV-I and V-I cadences are prominent not only at the end of each half-verse but also at the vast majority of those choral interchanges which fall on words superfluous to the overall structure of the text.⁵⁷⁴ Even the most important textual divisions may sometimes, moreover, be obscured by the dovetailing of musical phrases: a feature completely absent from both settings of Domine, probasti me, but here present at t.24. The "V" of the V-I cadence falls on "-ius", the final syllable of Verse 1; the "I" of the cadence on "Si-", the opening syllable of Verse 2.

The influence, then, of liturgical structure is here not of any great significance. Example 14 does, however, illustrate a most important means, typical as a whole of the polychoral section of the Concerti, of giving to a composition a specifically musical unity: the interchange of theme material between the different choirs. At, for example, tt.21-3, 34-8 and 63-5 this interchange is limited to the use of a fairly loose, imitative technique. At tt. 14-16, 43-4, 53-6 and 61-3, however, it amounts to open repetition (although in such cases the music, at its restatement, is generally shifted to a higher or lower register, and in performance is likely, as we have seen, to have received varied instrumentation⁵⁷⁵). Compare the situation in the Vespers psalm Domine, probasti me (Example 1). In the Croce setting, thematic interchange between the choirs is virtually absent: even in those few cases where a short phrase of text does happen to be repeated in rapid, inter-choir dialogue the imitative element is rarely anything but rhythmic.

In the Willaert example, even rhythmic imitation is almost non-existent. And although the thoroughgoing use in both choirs of the Gregorian psalm-tone leads naturally to a certain degree of melodic homogeneity, the principal reasons for the presence of such chant must surely be liturgical, not musical.

Returning, however, to the Gabrieli Concerto: it may be noted that the composer achieves further thoroughgoing unification by means of a definite acceleration, more and more noticeable as the work unfolds, towards an overtly musical climax. Of particular importance in this respect - as comparison of the music at the opening of each half-verse (respectively, tt.1-8, 14-19, 24-8, 31-7, 47-56 and 61-7) shows - is the use of shorter and shorter phrase lengths and note values, more and more agitated rhythms, and a gradually quickening rate of harmonic change.

All these features are practically absent from the Salmi spezzati: here, it is only in the Doxology that a general acceleration in the music is to be observed. They are, however, present, in various degrees and combinations, in the majority of Concerti. Three cases in point (there would be many more) are the eight-part Ave Regina caelorum, twelve-part Benedicam Dominum and twelve-part Kyrie eleison of Andrea Gabrieli (Examples 15-17).⁵⁷⁶

We may, then, in these Concerti, observe the beginnings of a fundamentally non-liturgical, musically based structure (it is, indeed, no coincidence that the word Concerti - a word which, as we have seen,⁵⁷⁷ has essentially occasional and musical, not liturgico-commemorative, significance - has been chosen in preference to more traditional, liturgically orientated terms such as Mottetti and Sacrae cantiones for the title-page of the 1587 publication). The large-scale sacred compositions of later Venetian composers take this structural process one stage further. A good example is Bassano's seven-part Gabriel angelus apparuit Zachariae (Example 18),⁵⁷⁸ the basis of whose text is a straightforward Respond and Verset proper to Matins in nativitate S.Ioannis Baptistae (June 24th):⁵⁷⁹

"Gabriel angelus apparuit Zachariae dicens:
Nascetur tibi filius, nomen eius Ioannes
vocabitur: et multi in nativitate eius gaudebunt.
Erit enim magnus coram Domino: et multi in
nativitate eius gaudebunt."

As can readily be seen, it divides into four separate phrases, the third of which, in answer to the requirements of liturgical structure, is repeated at the end.⁵⁸⁰ These four phrases are carried in Bassano's setting by four quite unrelated musical motifs. The overall form, liturgical considerations taken into account: "AB, C, D C". After sections B, C, D and C, however, the composer himself has added an "Alleluia" section to make a regularly recurring refrain - a refrain which, in every case, he centres upon the "key" of D and whose nucleus (tt.17-18, 27-8, 33, 42-3) he leaves practically unaltered at each new appearance. The result is a weakening of the original, liturgical ground-plan, and the substitution of a tightly-knit musical repetition structure.

Similar organisational techniques are to be observed in Croce's eight-part Quaeramus cum pastoribus - Ubi pascas, Decantabant populus Israel, Ornauerunt faciem templi, Benedictus es Domine and Incipite Domino,⁵⁸¹ Donato's eight-part Hodie Christus natus est, noe and Verbum caro factum est,⁵⁸² Giovanni Gabrieli's ten-part Surrexit pastor bonus, Quis est isti and Hodie Christus natus est, twelve-part Plaudite and Regina caeli laetare (all from the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I.⁵⁸³), ten-part Iubilate Deo omnis terra: quia sic benedicetur (from the Promptuarii Musici, III⁵⁸⁴), and eight-part Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes, eleven-part Surrexit Christus, fourteen-part In ecclesiis and nineteen-part Buccinate (all from the Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .), II⁵⁸⁵): all of them Concerti or large-scale motets (at the uppermost musico-commemorative level, it will be remembered, Concerti and Mottetti, if not identical, present many similarities). In contrast, the few-voiced Mottetti eschew such methods altogether. The contents of Croce's Motetti a quattro voci (. . .) (1597),⁵⁸⁶ Dalla Casa's Primo libro de motetti a sei voci (1597), and the five and six-part sections of Donato's Primo libro de motetti (. . .) (1599) are all either strictly liturgical or "through composed" in structure. And even on those rare occasions when the opportunity for a musical refrain is presented by the unadorned liturgical text - as in the Antiphons Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes (the same text as set to large-scale music by Giovanni Gabrieli, cited above)⁵⁸⁷ and Hodie Simon Petrus,⁵⁸⁸ both of which round off both their first and last phrases with an Alleluia - composers are loth to take advantage.

IN SUMMARY, then, we can but reiterate our conclusions of pp.117-18. It is not only in matters of performance practice but also in particulars of compositional technique that the different liturgical and ceremonial functions of Concerti (votive, generally occasional), Mottetti (liturgico-commemorative, yet generally performed outside their immediate liturgical positions) and Salmi spezzati (strictly liturgical) find expression. The following summary Table, based on (all) the musical evidence so far presented, will facilitate direct comparison. Under each successive heading, it will be noticed that Salmi conform strictly to pre-established, liturgical standards; that Mottetti, while essentially liturgical in their orientation, nevertheless exhibit (especially at the uppermost liturgico-commemorative levels) a degree of musical autonomy; that Concerti embrace, much more fully than the other two forms, the idea of a music, independent (more or less) of the liturgy, which exists for the sake of effect:

CONCERTI

MOTTETTI

SALMI SPEZZATI

NUMBER OF
PERFORMERS

Many. Sometimes extra (non-salaried) musicians hired.

For the very greatest liturgical commemorations, Concerto-like forces employed. Otherwise, relatively few musicians (graded according to the liturgical classification of the feast in hand).

The full salaried choir: up to thirteen singers (in the late 16th century), or twenty-two (from the early 17th century onwards). No extra (non-salaried) musicians, however, are normally hired.

TYPES OF
PERFORMERS

Choral and solo singers, organists and instrumentalists.

For the very greatest liturgical commemorations: Concerto-like forces.

In general, singers only.

For other Duplex and Duplex-maius-class festivities: singers and organists, without, however, instrumentalists.

For Semiduplex and Simplex days: singers only.

LOCATION OF
PERFORMERS

Spectacular effects obtained through the placing of musicians in spatially separated groups, in the Choir, in the organ lofts and in various pulpits in the nave.

For the very greatest liturgical commemorations: Concerto-like locations.

For all other commemorations: singers confined to a single, pre-ordained, liturgically and ceremonially appropriate position.

Singers confined to a single, pre-ordained, liturgically and ceremonially appropriate position.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MUSICAL AND LITURGICAL STRUCTURES	<u>CONCERTI</u>	<u>MOTTETTI</u>	<u>SALMI SPEZZATI</u>
	In general, little correspondence.	Sometimes, the structure of the polyphonic setting is modelled closely upon the repetition structure of the text as sung in plainchant. In most other cases, a loose relationship in which each successive (complete) phrase of the text receives its own, individual musical setting.	Strict correspondence.
INFLUENCE OF GREGORIAN CHANT	Minimal.	Chant appears only in some settings of the most traditional and highly reversed liturgical formulae.	Thoroughgoing.
CLARITY OF WORD-SETTING	Clarity is impaired by the intricacies of spatial separation, the multiplicity of parts, the employment of large numbers of musicians, and the tendency on the part of both instrumentalists and vocal soloists to embellish the composers' original score.	Clarity is impaired by the use of an essentially contrapuntal (non- declamatory) musical style. Within individual voices, however, the natural rhythm of the spoken word is respected, as are the divisions between successive phrases of the text.	An essentially declamatory style ensures good text intelligibility.

CONCLUSION

It will not go amiss to re-emphasise here what was first stated in the Preface: namely, that the nature of the present study is essentially speculative and interpretative, not factual, and that none of the evidence presented affords absolute proof of the correctness of our initial assertions. Taken as a whole, however, the weight of this evidence - albeit circumstantial - is considerable. Terminological considerations (Chapter I), liturgy and ceremonial (Chapters II-IV), musical style and performance practice (Chapter V) all testify in favour of the idea that (contrary to the belief of Praetorius) Concerti, Mottetti and Salmi spezzati were, in Venice at least, regarded not as identical triplets but as three quite separate, musico-liturgical genres.

The commonly-held belief, then, that all the sacred choral music of the Counter-Reformation - or even, all the contemporary "motet" repertory (using this word in its more traditional, umbrella-term sense, as distinct only from the Mass) - may be studied as a single, stylistically unified, musical genre must be regarded as a considerable over-simplification of the facts. Certainly, there are common characteristics. But equally, there are many divergencies. "Function" appears to hold the key. And it has, indeed, been the object of this study to approach the music of the Gabrieli and their contemporaries from this very point of view: the function of the music in terms of liturgy and ceremonial, the function of liturgy (and of liturgical music) in terms of the politico-religious (sacral) aspirations and propaganda of the Serenissima Republica of Venice. Although, then, stylistic analysis of the music per se has played a decidedly secondary role, it is hoped that the results of this largely non-musical dissertation will encourage the "straight" musicologist to re-consider a number of long accepted ideas on the history of late 16th-century musical style.

APPENDIX ONE

VENETIAN SACRED MUSIC, 1565 - 1615:
LITURGICAL DERIVATIONS OF THE TEXTS

Salmi spezzati, as noted in Chapter I, are performed only in their liturgically prescribed positions. Concerti and Mottetti, however, are more frequently not (see, for example, the large number of works which set texts from the liturgy of Matins, a service at which the attendance of the singers was not normally required). It should thus be clear that in the case of these latter two categories the liturgical locations supplied in the Table below can be regarded as no more than the most general indications of the feasts (not the ceremonies) at which each piece is most likely to have been performed.

Where a text is located in one only of the liturgies (Venetian or Tridentine), the possibility that it might also have been performed polyphonically in the course of the other (in, of course, an essentially "votive" context) is not to be excluded. Given the frequency with which (especially, though not exclusively, in larger-scale settings) completely non-liturgical texts were interpolated in the Mass (at least, in the Mass as celebrated at St. Mark's), it is only to be expected that liturgical texts also, regardless of their origin, should have been so used.

In the Table which follows, a number of abbreviations have been adopted:

Analecta: C. BLUME and G. M. DREVES, Analecta hymnica medii aevi V (Leipzig, 1889), XXV (Leipzig, 1897).

Ant. at Ben.: Antiphon at the Benediction, Lauds.

Ant. at Pss.: Antiphon at the Psalms, Matins, Lauds, Vespers.

Ant. at Mag.: Antiphon at the Magnificat, Vespers.

B.R.: Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum (Venezia, Iuntas, 1615).

Can.: GB - Ob, Ms. Canonici Liturg. 323.

C.A.O.: R. J. HESBERT, Corpus antiphonarium officii, 4 voll. (Roma, 1964-70).

Cic.: I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 1602.

L.U.: Liber usualis missae, et officii (. . .) (Paris, Roma, 1964).

MAR: C.MARBACH, Carmina scripturarum, scilicet antiphonae et responsoria ex sacro scripturae (Hildesheim, 1963).

Missale: I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 111 (= 2116).

M.R.: Missale Romanum, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum (Venezia, Io. Variscum, 1571).

O.H.S.: Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S.Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Prosdocimi, 1716).

O.n.N.D.: Officium in nocte Nativitatis Domini ad matutinum secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Basilicae S.Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Pinelli, 1721).

P.D.: Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S.Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Rampazetto, 1609).

Ps.: Psalm.

R: Respond.

Reg.114-18: I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registri 114-18.

Rit.: I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276).

V: Verset.

v.: verse.

WAR: M.WARNER, Alone of all her sex (London, 1976).

Prints are arranged in the first instance by category (in the order: Concerti, Mottetti, Salmi spezzati), within which they are listed chronologically:

	Page
A. <u>Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .)</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1587)	142
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E. <u>G.GABRIELI, et al, Promptuarii musici (. . .), III</u> (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613)	170
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G. <u>Id., Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum (. . .)</u> (Nürnberg, Kauffmann, 1615)	177
H. Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 2 ^o	179
I. <u>A.GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (. . .) quinque vocum</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1565)	180
J. <u>G.ZARLINO, Modulationes sex vocum (. . .)</u> (Venezia, Rampazetto, 1566)	185
K. <u>A.GABRIELI, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum</u> (. . .) (Venezia, Gardano, 1576)	189
L. <u>C.MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, I</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1578)	195
M. <u>Id., Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, II</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1578)	199
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O. <u>Id., Primo libro de mottetti a quattro voci pari</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1584)	209
P. <u>G.CROCE, Motetti a otto voci</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1594) . . .	213
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R. <u>Id., Motetti a quattro voci (. . .) libro primo</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597)	220
S. <u>G.DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de motetti a sei voci (. . .)</u> (Venezia, Amadino, 1597)	224
T. <u>B.DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti a cinque, a sei et otto voci</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1599)	230

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<u>U.</u> G.CROCE, <u>Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus (. . .)</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1601)	238
<u>V.</u> A.WILLAERT, et al, <u>I Salmi appertinenti alli Vesper</u> <u>(. . .)</u> (Venezia, Gardano, 1550)	243
<u>W.</u> G.CROCE, <u>Compietta a otto voci</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1591) .	244
<u>X.</u> Id., <u>Salmi che si cantano a terza</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1596)	245
<u>Y.</u> Id., <u>Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia (. . .)</u> (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597)	246

A. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .) continenti musica di chiesa, madrigali, & altro, (. . .) a 6. 7. 8. 10. 12. & 16. (. . .) Libro primo et secondo (Venezia, Gardano, 1587)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	Commemorations communes, sive suffragia sanctorum		Ant. in Vespers & Lauds, de S. Maria, quando non dicitur eius officium parvum (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.149-50)	
p.2	Eructavit cor meum	Feria III; in festis B.M.V.	Ps.44, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.40v)	Ps.44, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.67)	
p.3	Emendemus in melius	Dom. I Quadragesimae	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.115, fol.52r-v)	4th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.373)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.379, 383)
p.4	Isti sunt triumphatores	Comm. Ap. & Ev. extra Temp. Pasch.	5th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.194v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1235)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.5	Maria stabat Feria V infra Oct. Pasch.	Elaboration of Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.116, fol.60v)	Elaboration of Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.490)	
p.6	O gloriosa Domina in festis B.M.V.	Hymn, Lauds, Visit., S.Maria ad Nives, Assump., only (Rit., fol.45r-v; <u>P.D.</u> , fol.130v)	Hymn, Lauds (B.R., pp. 879, 921, 944, <u>T026</u> , 1134, 1341, 1356) (see also above, at foot- note 188)	
p.7	Beatus vir qui non abiit Dominica (but see also footnote 347, above)	Ps.1, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.3r)	Ps.1, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.3)	
p.8	Iniquos odio habui Dominica	Ps.118, vv.113-15, proper to Sext (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.25v)	Ps.118, vv.113-15, proper to Sext (<u>B.R.</u> , p.40)	
p.9	Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam (by Giovanni Gabrieli) Feria VI	Ps.85, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.65r)	Ps.85, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.106)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.10	Angelus ad pastores ait	in Nat.Dom. Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.66r-v)	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.217)	
p.11	Domine, Deus meus, in te speravi	Dominica Ps.7, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.3v)	Ps.7, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.5)	
p.12	Iudica me, Deus in festo Corp. Christi	Feria III Ps.42, vv.1-2, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.43v-44r)	Ps.42, vv.1-2, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.71)	Ps.42, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.621)
p.13	Hodie Christus natus est	in Nat.Dom. Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.69r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.221)	
p.14	Nativitas tua II, IV, V, VI Dies infra Oct. Nat. B.M.V.; Oct.Nat.B.M.V.	in Nat.B.M.V. Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers; 5th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 117, fol.187r, 190r)	6th R (without V), Matins; Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1132, 1134)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1135, 1138, 1139, 1141, 1150)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.15	Angelus Domini descendit	Dom. Res.	(The opening part of the Matins liturgy, to which this text almost certainly belongs - see "Tridentine" column -, has been torn from Reg.116)	1st R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.483-4)
		Dom. in Albis		1st R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.495)
p.16	Usquequo, Domine	Dominica	Ps.12, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (P.D., fol.6r)	Ps.12, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (B.R., p.8)
p.17	Maria Magdaleneae	Dom. Res.	From the Sequentia S. Ev. secundum Marcum, Mass (O.H.S., p.390)	From the Sequentia S. Ev. secundum Marcum, Mass (M.R., p.258)
		Feria II infra Oct.Pasch.	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.52r-v)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.18	Deus qui beatum Marcum	in festo S. Marci		Oratio, 1st & 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.950), and Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.376)	
		occasional ceremonies	Oratio, used in the services after the election of a Doge, Procurator and Capitano Generale, and on a number of other votive occasions (see above, p.24)		
p.19	Ego dixi: Domine (by Giovanni Gabrieli)	in precibus ferialibus			Combination of 2 Vv. for Lauds and Vespers (<u>MAR</u> , pp. 117, 186) and one for Lauds, Prime, Vespers & Compline (<u>MAR</u> , p.107)
p.20	Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth				Non-liturgical: see above, p.49.

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.21	Expurgate vetus fermentum	Dom. Res. Feria III post Pasch.	Epistle, Mass (<u>O.H.S.</u> , p.388)	Epistle, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.258)	
p.22	Egredimini et videte	in dedicatione ecclesiae? in festis B.M.V.?	3rd R with V, Matins (Reg.116, fol.56r)		Paraphrase of Canticum Canticorum, III, 3.
p.23	Beati immaculati in via	Dominica	Ps.118, vv.1-5, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.17v)	Ps.118, vv.1-5, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.24)	
p.24	Congratulamini mihi omnes	Feria II post Pasch. Feria V post Pasch.	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.53r-v)		2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.490)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.25	O Salutaris Hostia	Cantus vari i ad benedictionem SS.Sacramenti		Benediction chant (<u>L.U.</u> , p.1854)	
p.26	Exurgat Deus	Feria IV	Ps.67, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.49v)	Ps.67, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.81)	
		Dom. Pentecostes		Ps.67, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.583)	
p.27	Quem vidistis, pastores?	in Nat.Dom.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.65r-v)	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.217)	
p.28	Deus, in nomine tuo	Dominica (see also, however, p.79, above)	Ps.53, vv.1-4, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.16r-v)	Ps.53, vv.1-4, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.23)	
pp.28-9	O crux, splendidior	Invent. S. Crucis		Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.919)	
		Exalt. S. Crucis	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.117, fol.195r-v)		

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.30	Deus qui beatum Marcum	in festo S. Marci	Oratio, 1st & 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.950), and Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.376)	
	occasional ceremonies	(as p.18 of this same print, above)		
p.31	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)
p.32	Ave Regina caelorum	post Purif. B.M.V. usque ad feriam V in Coena Domini exclusive	Marian Antiphon (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.104r)	Marian Antiphon (<u>B.R.</u> , p.156)
p.33	O magnum mysterium (by Giovanni Gabrieli)	in Nat.Dom.	5th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.58r)	4th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.211)
p.34	Deus, Deus meus, respice	Feria VI	Ps.21, vv.1-3, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.21r-v)	Ps.21, vv.1-3, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.31)
	Dom.Palmarum (but see also p.63, above)			Opening of Tract, Mass (<u>MAR.</u> , pp.86-7)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.35	Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius	Dominica	Ps.150, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.14v)	Ps.150, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.20)	
p.36	Exultate iusti	Feria II	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.31r-v)	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.51)	
		Comm. Mart.		Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1271-2)	
p.37	Deus, Deus meus, ad te (by Giovanni Gabrieli)	Dominica	Ps.62, vv.1-5, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.62, vv.1-5, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)	
p.38	Benedicam Dominum	Feria II	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.31v-32r)	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.52)	
		Comm. Mart.		Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1272-3)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.39	Deus, misereatur nostri	Dominica Ps.66, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.13r)	Ps.66, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.18)	
p.40	Angelus ad pastores ait (by Giovanni Gabrieli)	in Nat.Dom. Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.66r-v)	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.217)	
pp.41-3	Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie; Gloria; Sanctus	Sections from the Ordinary of the Mass)		
p.44	Magnificat	Vespers		

B. GABRIELI, Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .) senis, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, & 16, tam vocibus, quam instrumentis
(Venezia, Gardano, 1597)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.2	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Feria VI	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.68v)	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.110)	
p.3	Exaudi, Domine, iustitiam meam	Dominica	Ps.16, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.7v)	Ps.16, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.10)	
p.4	Beata es, virgo Maria	in Assump. B.M.V.	8th R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.166r-v)	8th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.104)	
p.5	Miserere mei, Deus	Feria II	Ps.50, vv.1-5, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.35v)	Ps.50, vv.1-5, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.57)	
p.6	O quam suavis est Domine	in festo Corp. Christi	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.117, fol.28r-v)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.615)	

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER			
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.7	Benedixisti, Domine	Ps.84, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.64V)	Ps.84, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.105)	
p.8	Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam	Ps.54, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.45V)	Ps.54, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.75)	
p.9	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	Commemoraciones communes, sive suffragia sanctorum	Ant. in Vespers & Lauds, de S. Maria, quando non dicitur eius officium parvum (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.149-50)	
p.10	O Domine Iesu Christe	Holy Week		Non-liturgical. Further on this text, see above, p.63.
p.11	Domine, exaudi orationem meam	Sabbato	Ps.101, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.72V)	Ps.101, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.116-17)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.12	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)		
p.13	Misericordias Domini	Feria VI	Ps.88, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.66v)	Ps.88, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.107)		
p.14	Beati immaculati in via	Dominica	Ps.118, vv.1-6, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.17v)	Ps.118, vv.1-6, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.24)		
p.15	Laudate nomen Domini	Feria V	Ps.134, vv.1-5, proper to Vespers (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.93r)	Ps.134, vv.1-5, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.141)		
p.16	Iam non dicam	in Vig. Comm. Un. Apost.		From the Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.460)		
p.17	Beati omnes qui timent Dominum	Feria IV	Ps.127, proper to Vespers (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.90v)	Ps.127, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.138)		

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE
			OTHER
p.18	Domine, Dominus noster	Ps.8, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.4 ^r)	Ps.8, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.5-6)
p.19	Angelus Domini descendit	(as in Concerti di <u>Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli</u> , p.15)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.483-4)
	Dom. in Albis		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.495)
p.20	O Iesu mi dulcissime	in Nat. Dom.	Non-liturgical
p.21	Sancta et immaculata	Officium parvum B.M.V.	Combination of 1st R (without V) & part of 2nd R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1355, 1356)
p.22	Diligam te, Domine	Dominica	Ps.17, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.11)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.23	Exultate iusti	Feria II	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.31r-v)	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.51)		
		Comm. Mart.		Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1271-2)		
p.24	Hoc tegitur	?				
p.25	Ego sum qui sum	Dom. Res.	Combination of 3 Ants. at Pss., Matins (Reg. 116, fol.45r-v)	Combination of 3 Ants. at Pss., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.483)		
p.26	In te, Domine, speravi	Feria II	Ps.30, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.30r)	Ps.30, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.49)		
p.27	Iubilemus singuli	in festis S. Marci				Non-liturgical, but based upon an Introit model.
p.28	Magnificat	Vespers				

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.36	Benedicam Dominum	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.31 ^v -32 ^r)	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.52)	
	Comm.Mart.		Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1272-3)	
p.37	Domine, exaudi orationem meam	Ps.101, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.72 ^v)	Ps.101, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.116-17)	
p.38	Maria virgo			Partly centonised, mostly non-liturgical.
p.39	Deus qui beatum Marcum	(as in Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: <u>Gabrieli</u> , p.18)	Oratio, 1st & 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.950), and Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.376)	
	occasional ceremonies			

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.40	Surrexit pastor bonus	Feria III post Pasch.	Second section is from V to 3rd R, Matins (Reg.116, fol.56r)	
		Feria V post Pasch.	First section is the 3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.60r)	
		Dom. in Albis; Feria V infra Hebd. I & II post Pasch.; Dom. II post Pasch.	R with V, Matins (B.R., pp.496, 505, <u>510, 516</u>)	
p.41	Iudica me, Domine	Dominica	Ps.25, vv.1-5, proper to Prime (P.D., fol.20v-21r)	Ps.25, vv.1-5, proper to Prime (B.R., p.31)
p.42	Quis est iste (see also over, p.159)	in commem. quinque vulnerum in commem. S. Columnae fla- gellationis D.N.I.C.; in commem. pre- tiosissimi san- guini D.N.I.C.		First section is an Ant. at Pss., Matins (MAR, p.329) First section is an Ant. at Pss., Vespers (MAR, p.329)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			Second section used in these ceremonies (MAR, pp.92-3)
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.43	Hodie Christus natus est	in consecratio- ne ecclesiae, ante ingressum; in reditu pro- cessionis in die Palmarum, ante fores ecclesiae			
		First section is Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.67r-v)	First section is Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.221)		
		Second section is Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg. 114, fol.66v)	Second section is V to 1st R, Matins (B.R., p.208)		
p.50	Plaudite	in Ascensione Domini	Centonized. Some words typical of Ascension Day liturgy (Reg.116, fol.85v)	Centonized. Some words typical of Ascension Day liturgy (B.R., p.550)	
p.51	Virtute magna	in festis S. Marci			Non-liturgical
pp.52-4	Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie; Gloria; Sanctus	Sections from the Ordinary of the Mass			

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.55	Magnificat			
p.56	Regina caeli laetare	a completorio Sabbati sancti usque ad nonam Sabbati post Pentecostes inclusive	Marian Antiphon (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.104v)	Marian Antiphon (<u>B.R.</u> , p.156)
p.60	Nunc dimittis			
p.61	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)
p.63	Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	in Ascensione Domini		Ps.46, vv.1-5, & 2nd half of v.6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.549)

C. G.BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8, & 12 voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1598)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	O rex gloriae qui beatum Marcum	in Vigilia Ascensionis Domini			For discussion of this text, see above, p.100.
p.2	Beata virgo et martyr Iustina	in festo S. Iustinae			Non-liturgical
p.3	Benedicamus Deum	in festo SS. Trinitatis		Communion, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.298)	
		votive liturgy of Holy Trinity		Communion, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.499)	
p.4	Haec est virgo	Comm. Virg., & Mart.		First section is an Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp. 1301, 1310, 1311); V to Alleluia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.489)	
	(see also over, p.162)				

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
		Second section is variant of V to 7th R, and variant of 8th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, foll.232r, 232r-v)	Second section is variant of V to 1st R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1304)	
pp.5-6	Dic nobis, Maria	Dom. Res.	From the Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.258)	
p.7	Gabriel angelus apparuit	in Nat. S. Ioannis	8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1002)	
p.8	Viri Galilaei	in Ascensione Domini	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.545, 554)	
pp.8-9	O rex gloriae	in Ascensione Domini	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.555)	

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		V E N E T I A N		T R I D E N T I N E		O T H E R	
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER						
pp.9-10	Angelus ad pastores ait	in Nat.Dom.	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.66r-v)	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Lauds (B.R., p.217)			
p.12	Cibavit nos	in festo Corp. Christi	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., Matins (Reg.117, fol.33r-v)	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss., (B.R., pp.621-2)			
p.13	Deus qui beatum Marcum	in festo S. Marci		Oratio, 1st & 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.950), and Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.376)			
		occasional ceremonies	(as in Concerti di <u>Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli</u> , p.18)				
p.14	Cantate Domino	in Vig. Ascens. Domini		Communion, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.279)			
p.15	Dum complerentur dies Pentecostes	Dom.Pent.	Variant of Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (Cic., fol.59r-v, 59v, 60r)	Variant of Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp.581, 587, 589)			

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE OTHER
p.16	Fuit homo missus a Deo	1st R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.996); Graduale, <u>Mass</u> (M.R., p.394)	1st R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.996); Graduale, <u>Mass</u> (M.R., p.394)
p.17	Ave Regina caelorum	post Purif. B.M.V. usque ad feriam V in Coena Domini exclusive	Marian Antiphon (P.D., fol.104r)
p.18	Vocem iucunditatis	in Vig. Ascens. Domini	Marian Antiphon (B.R., p.156)
p.19	O Domine Iesu Christe	Holy Week	Introit, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.277)
pp.20-21	Ave Regina caelorum	(as p.17 of this same print, above)	Non-liturgical. Further on this text, see above, p.63.
p.22	Caro mea	in festo Corp. Christi	V to Alleluia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.301)

D. G.BASSANO, Concerti ecclesiastici a cinque, sei, sette, otto & dodici voci (. . .) libro secondo
(Venezia, Vincenti, 1599)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Salvator mundi	in festo Omnium Sanctorum		Variant of Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1185)	
p.2	Confitemini Domino	Sabbato	Ps.105, vv.1-3 and a variant of v.9, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.76r)	Ps.105, vv.1-3 and a variant of v.9, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.121)	
p.3	Sancta et immaculata	in Nat.Dom.	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59r-V)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)	
		in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)	
		Officium B. Mariae in Sab.		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)	
		Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.4	Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi	Ps.76, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (P.D., fol.57r)	Ps.76, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (B.R., p.93)	
p.5	Viri sancti gloriosum	2nd R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.201v)	2nd R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.1269)	
p.6	O Doctor optime in festo S. Hieronymi	A similar text, but without the name of the saint, occurs in the Comm. pro Doct. as the Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.218r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.1172)	
p.7	Nativitas tua in Nat.B.M.V. II, IV, V, VI Dies infra Oct. Nat. B.M.V.; Oct.Nat.B.M.V.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers; 5th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 117, foll.187r, 190r)	6th R (without V), Matins; Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp.1132, 1134)	6th R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.1135, 1138, 1139, 1141, 1150)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN		
		TRIDENTINE		OTHER
p.8	Confitebor tibi, Domine	Comm. Sanctae Mart. tantum	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (Cic., foll.138v-139r)	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp.1313, 1317, 1318)
p.9	Hodie Christus - natus est	in Nat.Dom.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.69r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.221)
pp.10-11	Sancta et immaculata	Officium parvum B.M.V.	Combination of 1st R (without V) & part of 2nd R, Matins (Cic., fol.142r-v)	Combination of 1st R (without V) & part of 2nd R, Matins (B.R., pp.1355, 1356)
p.11	Benedicam Dominum	Feria II	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (P.D., foll.31v-32r)	Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (B.R., p.52)
		Comm. Mart.		Ps.33, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (B.R., pp.1272-3)
p.12	Deus misereatur nostri	Dominica	Ps.66, vv.1-3, proper to Lauds (P.D., fol.13r)	Ps.66, vv.1-3, proper to Lauds (B.R., p.18)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		V E N E T I A N		T R I D E N T I N E		O T H E R	
TEXT	INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER					
p.13	Laetentur caeli	in Nat.Dom.	Elaboration of an Ant. at Ps., Matins (Reg. 114, fol.59r); & of Offertory, 1st Mass (Missale, foll.11v-12r)	Elaboration of Offertory, 1st Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.17)			
p.14	Deus noster, refugium	Feria III	Ps.45, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.41r)	Ps.45, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.67)			
pp.14-15	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)			
p.16	Canite tuba in Sion	in Nat.Dom.	A Nativity text, based on the model of 1st R (without V), Matins, Dom. IV Adventus (Reg.114, fol.32v)	A Nativity text, based on the model of 1st R (without V), Matins Dom. III Adventus (<u>B.R.</u> , p.194)			

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.17	Factum est silentium	in Apparitione S. Michaelis Arch.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.968)		
		in Dedicatione S. Michaelis Arch.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1163)		
p.18	Omnes gentes plaudite manibus		Ps.46, vv.1-5, & 2nd half of v.6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.549)		
p.19	Tu gloria Ierusalem	in festo S. Pulcheriae Imp. Virg.		First section is Offertory, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.52)	
		in Apparitione B.M.V. Immac.		Second section is an Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>MAR</u> , p.52)	
pp.20-21	Haec est beatissima	in Concept. B.M.V.		Idea of B.M.V. tramp- ling head of dragon, central to this text, connected with Immac. Conception. Based upon a mis-translation, by St. Jerome, of Genesis III 15 (<u>WAR</u>)	

E. G. GABRIELI, et al, Promptuarii musici (. . .) pars tertia (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E VENETIAN	L I T U R G I C A L TRIDENTINE	L O C A T I O N OTHER	
p. 121 Iubilate Deo omnis terra: quia sic benedicetur	in Ascensione Domini?				For discussion, see above, pp. 101-2.

F. G. GABRIELI, Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .) liber secundus, senis, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, & 19, tam vocibus, quam instrumentis (Venezia, stampa del Gardano, 1615)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Exultavit cor meum	Feria IV Canticum Annae, proper to Lauds (P.D., fol.51v)	Canticum Annae, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.84)	
p.3	Congratulamini mihi omnes	in Nat.Dom. in Annunc. B.M.V. in festo SS. Rosarii B.M.V. (Dom. I Octobris)	First section is R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.62r-v)	First section is 7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.944) Second section is 7th R (without V), Matins (<u>MAR</u> , p.92)
p.5	Sancta et immaculata	Officium parvum B.M.V.	Combination of 1st R (without V) & part of 2nd R, Matins (Cic., fol.142r-v)	Combination of 1st R (without V) & part of 2nd R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1355, 1356)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.6	0 Iesu mi dulcissime	in Nat.Dom.		Non-liturgical
p.7	Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes	Dom. Penteco- stes	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.588)	
p.9	0 quam suavis	in festo Corp. Christi	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.117, fol.28r-v)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.615)
p.10	Deus, in nomine tuo	Dominica	Ps.53, vv.1-3, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.16r-v)	Ps.53, vv.1-3, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.23)
p.12	Attendite, popule meus	Feria V	Ps.77, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.57v-58r)	Ps.77, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.94)
p.13	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Feria VI	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.68v)	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.110)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.14	Benedictus es, Dominus, Deus Israel	in festo SS. Trinitatis	First section is 2nd R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.18 ^r); second section is elaboration of an Ant. at Pss., Matins (Reg.117, fol.19 ^r)	First section is 2nd R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.601-2); second section is elaboration of an Ant. at Pss., Matins (B.R., p.602)	
p.15	Litaniae B. Mariae Virginis	Litanies			
p.18	Vox Domini super aquas	in Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt.	Centonized text. Combination of (among other fragments) Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg. 117, fol.91 ^v), Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers (Reg.117, fol.85 ^r)	Centonized text. Combination of vv.3 & 4 of Ps.28, proper to Matins (B.R., p.49), 2 Ants. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp.995, 1002, 1003)	
p.20	Iubilate Deo omnis terra: Deus Israel	II Die infra Oct. Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt. in Ascensione Domini?		Another section of this centonized text is the opening of Lectio V, Matins (B.R., p.1003)	(for discussion, see above, p.102)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				O T H E R	
	T E X T I N C I P I T	F E A S T e t c T O W H I C H P R O P E R		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE
p.21	Surrexit Christus	Feria IV post Pasch.			First section is Offertory, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.262)
		Feria V post Pasch.			Second section is Offertory Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.522); third section is Communion, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.522)
p.22	Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam	Feria IV		Ps.54, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.45v)	Ps.54, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.75)
p.23	O gloriosa virgo	in festis B.M.V.			Non-liturgical.
p.24	Misericordia tua, Domine	Feria V post Dom. II Epiph.			Second section is 2nd R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.312)
		Feria VI post Dom. II Epiph.			First section is 2nd R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.313)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		F E A S T e t c T O W H I C H P R O P E R		T E X T I N C I P I T		V E N E T I A N		T R I D E N T I N E		O T H E R	
p.26	Suscipe, clementissime Deus	in Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt.								Non-liturgical; based, however, on one of the "models" for the Introit of the Mass.	
pp.27-8	Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie; Sanctus	Sections from the Ordinary of the Mass									
p.29	Magnificat	Vespers									
p.31	Confitebor tibi, Domine	Dominica				Ps.9, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.4r-v)		Ps.9, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.6)			
p.32	Salvator noster, dilectissimi	in Nat.Dom.				Opening of Lectio IV, Matins (<u>O.n.N.D.</u>)		Opening of Lectio IV, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.211)			
p.33	Quem vidistis, pastores?	in Nat.Dom.				Elaboration of 4th & 5th Rr (without Vv), Matins (Reg.114, fol.57v-58r)		Elaboration of 3rd & 4th Rr (without Vv), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.209, 211)			

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.34	In ecclesiis	in festo SS. Redemptoris	(for discussion of this centonized text, drawn from the liturgy of Holy Trinity, but probably used during the local feast of the Redentore, see above, pp.95-6)		
p.35	Magnificat	Vespers			
p.39	O quam gloriosa hodie beata Maria processit	in Assump. B.M.V.?	.		Non-liturgical
p.41	Exaudi nos, Domine	?			
p.42	Magnificat	Vespers			
p.43	Buccinate in Neomenia tuba	(seemingly for any great lit- urgical occasion)	Centonized text, drawn from Pss.80, 97, 150)	Centonized text, drawn from Pss.80, 97, 150)	

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G. GABRIELI, Reliquiae sacrarum concentuum Giovan Gabrielis, Iohan-Leonis Hasleri (Nürnberg, Kauffmann, 1615)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N
		VENETIAN TRIDENTINE OTHER

No.1 O Iesu Christe ?

No.10 Domine, Deus
 meus

Officium
Defunctorum?

No.12 Timor et tremor

in Passione
Domini

This liturgical assignation is given for another setting of the same text, in R.I.S.M., 1585¹.

No.16 Audi, Domine,
 hymnum

Feria II post
Dom. III post
Pentecostes

3rd R (without V), Matins
(MAR, p.33)

post
Pentecostes

R (without V), Matins
(Reg. 117, foll. 42v-
43r)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
No.43	Hodie Christus natus est	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.69 ^r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.221)	
No.51	Deus, Deus meus, respice	Ps.21, vv.1-3, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.21 ^{r-v})	Ps.21, vv.1-3, pro- per to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.31)	Opening of Tract, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , pp.86-7)
No.59	Exultet iam Sabbato Sancto		Chanted during the lighting of the Easter candle, Mass	
No.61	Audite, hodie, principes in Nat.Dom.			Non-liturgical

H. Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 20

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.53 0	Dulcis Iesu (by Giovanni Gabrieli)	in festo SS. Redemptoris			Non-liturgical. For discussion see above, pp.96-7.

Other compositions of Giovanni Gabrieli, preserved in this manuscript, have not been consulted.

I. A. GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum (Venezia, Gardano, 1565)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	Feria II	Ps.116, vv.1-2, proper to Vespers (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.87r)	Ps.116, vv.1-2, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.135)	Communione (<u>MAR.</u> p.222)
		Missa votiva pro fidei propagatione			
pp.2-3	Domine, Dominus noster	Dominica	Ps.8, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.4r)	Ps.8, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.5-6).	
pp.4-5	Deus noster, refugium	Feria III	Ps.45, vv.1-7, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.41r)	Ps.45, vv.1-7, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.67-8)	
pp.6-8	Levavi oculos meos	Feria II	Ps.120, vv.1-8, proper to Vespers (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.87v)	Ps.120, vv.1-8, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.135)	
pp.9-10	Verba mea auribus	Feria II	Ps.5, vv.1-6, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.36r-v)	Ps.5, vv.1-6, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.58)	

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN		OTHER
		TRIDENTINE		
pp.11-12	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Feria VI	Ps.95, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.68v)	Ps.95, vv.1-4, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.110)
pp.13-14	Bonum est confiteri	Sabbato	Ps.91, vv.1-4, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.80v)	Ps.91, vv.1-4, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.126)
pp.15-16	Domine quid multiplicati sunt	Dominica	Ps.3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.3r)	Ps.3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.4)
p.17	Libera me, Domine, de viis	Officium defunctorum	9th R (without V), Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.142v)	9th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1379)
pp.18-19	Spiritus meus attenuabitur	Officium defunctorum	Opening of Lectio VIII, Matins (Cic., fol.150r)	Opening of Lectio VIII, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1378)
p.20	Hei mihi, Domine	Officium defunctorum	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.141r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1376)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.21	Sic Deus dilexit	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.117, fol.10r)	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.590)	
p.22	Sancta et immaculata	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59r-v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)	
	in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)	
	Officium B. Mariae in Sabbato		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)	
	Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	
p.23	O sacrum convivium	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.117, fol.36v-37r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.624)	
p.24	O lux beata Trinitas	Vv.1-2 of Hymn, 1st & 2nd Vespers (P.D., fol.117r)	Vv.1-2 of Hymn, 1st & 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.599, 608)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.25-6	Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam	Feria IV Ps.54, vv.1-6, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.45v)	Ps.54, vv.1-6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.75-6)	
pp.27-8	Pater, peccavi	Dom. I Quadragesimae Sabbato infra Habd. II Quadragesimae	9th R with V, Matins (Reg.115, fol.56r-v) 1st R with V, Matins (Reg.115, fol.74v)	1st R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.395)
p.29	Beata es, Maria	Officium parvum B.M.V. 2nd R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142v)	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1356)	
pp.30-31	Voce mea	Feria V Ps.76, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.57r)	Ps.76, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.93)	
pp.32-3	Quare fremuerunt gentes	Dominica Ps.2, vv.1-6, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.2v)	Ps.2, vv.1-6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.3-4)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.34	Ave sanctissima Maria	in festis B.M.V.	?	?	
p.35	Confitebor tibi, Domine	Dominica	Ps.110, vv.1-3, proper to Vespers (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.83v)	Ps.110, vv.1-3, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.131)	
p.36	Laetare Ierusalem	Dom. IV Quadragesimae	Introit, Mass (Missale, fol.34r-v)	Introit, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.105)	
p.37	0 Rex gloriae	in Ascensione Domini	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.116, fol.90r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.555)	

J. G.ZARLINO, Modulationes sex vocum per Philippum Iusbertum musicum Venetum collectae (Venezia, Rampazetto, 1566)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Ascendo ad patrem meum	Short R & V, Lesser Office Hours (Reg.116, fol.89v-90r); Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.116, fol.89r-v)	Short R & V, Matins, Sext, None (B.R., pp.552, 554); Ant. at Ben., Lauds (B.R., p.554)	
pp.2-3	Litigabant Iudaei invicem	Feria V in Coena Domini?		(Communion, Mass, <u>MAR</u> , p.41)
	(cantus firmus: <u>Comedite</u> pinguia)	(Feria IV, Quat. Temp. Septembris)		
pp.4-5	Hodie Christus natus est	in Nat.Dom.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.69r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.221)
pp.6-8	Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam - Scrutati sunt	Feria IV	Ps.63, proper to Matins (P.D., fol.48v-49r)	Ps.63, proper to Matins (B.R., p.80)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE
			OTHER
p.9	Virgo prudentissima	in Assump. B.M.V.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>MAR</u> , p.275)
pp.10-12	Miserere mei, Deus - Misit Deus - Foderunt ante faciem	Feria IV Ps.56, proper to Matins (P.D., fol.46v-47r)	Ps.56, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.77)
	(cantus firmus: <u>Ne reminiscaris</u> , Domine)	(Ant. at the Litanies, Can., fol.43v)	Ant. at the Litanies <u>B.R.</u> , p.1390)
p.13	O quam gloriosum	in festo Omnium Sanctorum	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1194)
pp.14-15	In principio - Quando prae- parabat caelos (for the <u>cantus firmus</u> , see over, p.187)	Dominicae, & Feriae V Augusti post Pentecostes R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.49r-v)	Elaboration of 1st R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.721, 725, 727, etc)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
	(<u>cantus firmus:</u> <u>Omnis</u> sapientia)	(Dom. I Augusti) (Sabbato infra Hebd. II Aug.)	(Ant., Reg.117, fol.57r)		(Ant. at Mag., Vespers, <u>B.R.</u> , p.731)
pp.16-17	Victimae pasch- ali laudes - Dic nobis, Maria	Dom. Res.	Sequentia, Mass (<u>O.H.S.</u> , p.389)	Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.258)	
p.18	Misereris omnium	Feria IV Cinerum			Introit with psalmus, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , pp.55-6)
p.19	Sebastianus Dei cultor	in festo SS. Fabiani, & Sebastiani	Ant. at Pss., Matins (Reg.114, fol.156r)		
pp.20-22	Salve Regina - Eia ergo - Et Iesum benedictum	a primis vespe- ris festi Trin. usque ad nonam Sabbati ante Adventum	Marian Antiphon (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.104V-105r)	Marian Antiphon (<u>B.R.</u> , p.157)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.23-4 Pater noster - Ave Maria	ante matutinum, & omnes horas, praeterquam ad completorium		Two prayers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1)	

K. A.GABRIELI, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum, omnibus sanctorum solemnitatibus deservientium, liber primus (Venezia, Gardano, 1576)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Diligam te, Domine	Dominica	Ps.17, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.8r)	Ps.17, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.11)	
p.2	Angelus ad pastores ait	in Nat.Dom.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.66r)	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.217)	
p.3	Patefactae sunt ianuae	in festo S. Stephani	6th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.75r)	8th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.224)	
p.4	Ecclesiam tuam	in festo S. Ioannis Ap., & Ev.	Oratio, Lauds (Cic., fol.15r)	Oratio, Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.230) and Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.22)	
p.5	Hi sunt	in festo SS. Innocentium	Ant. at Pss., Matins (Reg.114, fol.86v); Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.92v)	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.235); <u>Capitulum</u> , Sext (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.235-6)	
p.6	Magnum haereditatis	in Circ.Dom.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.126r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.260)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.7	Videntes stellam Magi	R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.114v)	8th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.282)	
p.8	Sancta et immaculata	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59r-v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)	
	in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)	
	Officium B. Mariae in Sabbato		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)	
	Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	
p.9	Maria Magdaleneae	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.52r-v)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.486)	
	in festo S. Mariae Magdaleneae		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1042)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.10	Ego rogabo patrem	in Ascensione Domini	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.553)	
p.11	Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes	Dom. Pentecostes	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.588)	
p.12	Te Deum patrem	in festo SS. Trin.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.608)	
p.13	Caro mea	in festo Corp. Christi	V to Alleluia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.301)	
p.14	Fuit homo missus a Deo	in Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.996); Gradual, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.396)	
p.15	Hodie Simon Petrus	in festo SS. Petri, & Pauli	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1015-16)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.16	Mulier quae erat	in festo S. Mariae Magdalenae		Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1045)	
p.17	Levita Laurentius	in festo S. Laurentij	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol1.150V-151r)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1085); 1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1086)	
p.18	Puellae saltanti	in decollatione S. Ioannis Baptistae	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.176v)	3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1124)	
p.19	O Crux fidelis	Invent. S. Crucis		2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.920)	
		Exalt. S. Crucis		2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1142)	
p.20	Angeli, Archangeli	in festo Om. Sanct.		Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1185)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.21	Oravit sanctus Andreae		7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.870)	
p.22	Tollite iugum meum	Comm. Ap., & Ev. extra Temp. Pasch.	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1232-3)	
p.23	Filiae Ierusalem	Comm. Ap. & Ev. Temp. Pasch.	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1246)	
		Comm. Un. Mart. Temp. Pasch.	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1262); Ant. at <u>Ben.</u> , Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1263)	
p.24	Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem	Comm. Un. Mart. extra Temp. Pasch.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.114, fol.209v-210r)	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, Terce, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1249, 1257, 1258)
p.25	Viri sancti gloriosum	Comm. Plur. Mart.	2nd R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.201v)	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1269)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.26	Sacerdos et pontifex	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.114, fol.226 ^{r-v})	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1279)	
p.27	Beatus vir qui inventus est	Comm. Confess. non Pont.	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1292, 1296, 1297)	
p.28	Veni sponsa Christi	Comm. Un. Mart. extra Temp. Pasch.	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, Terce (Can., fol.164 ^r , 164 ^v)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1301)
		Comm. Virg., & Mart.		Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1308); Ant. at <u>Mag.</u> , 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1311)
p.29	O quam metuendus	Comm. Ded. Ecclesiae	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Cic., fol.119 ^v)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1324); Ant. at <u>Mag.</u> , 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1327)

L. C.MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, liber primus (Venezia, Gardano, 1578)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.1-2	Salvator noster - Neque enim	in Nat.Dom.	Opening of Lectio IV, Matins (O.n.N.D.)	Opening of Lectio IV, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.211)	
p.3	Stephanus autem plenus	in festo S. Stephani	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.73r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.221); Capitulum, Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.224)	
p.4	Maximum hoc omnium	in festo S. Ioannis Ev.			This is the liturgical assignment given in the print.
p.5	Innocentes pro Christo	in festo SS. Innocentium		Ant. at Mag., Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.236)	
p.6	O admirabile commercium	in Circ.Dom.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, foll. 106v-107r)	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.251, 259, 260)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.7	Tribus miraculis	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.117r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.284)	
p.8	Bonum certamen in festo SS. Petri, & Pauli in conversione S. Pauli	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.115r)	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.906)	
p.9	Hodie beata virgo Maria	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.115, fol.124v)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.921)	
p.10	Ave Maria		Prayer (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1)	
p.11	Haec est dies	Combination of an Ant. at PSS., Matins (Reg. 116, fol.46v), and an Ant. at PSS., Lauds (Reg.116, fol.48v)	Combination of an Ant. at PSS., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.483), and an Ant. at PSS., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.485)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.12	Sancti et iusti	Comm. Ap., & Ev. Temp.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.116, fol.96 ^r)	Short V & R, Matins (B.R., p.1245); Ant. at <u>Mag.</u> , 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.1247)
		Comm. Un. Mart. Temp. Pasch.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.116, fol.96 ^r)	Short V & R, 1st Vespers (B.R., p.1260); Short V & R, Matins (B.R., p.1261); Ant. at <u>Mag.</u> , 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.1264)
p.13	Cumque beatis- simus Marcus	in festo S. Marci	Part of 6th R with V, Matins (Reg.116, fol.105 ^r)	
p.14	Ascendens Christus	in Ascensione Domini	Short R and V, Matins (Reg.116, fol.89 ^v)	6th R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.551)
p.15	Hodie Spiritus sanctus	Dom. Pentecostes		From Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (B.R., p.588)
p.16	O adoranda Trinitas	in festo SS. Trin.	Second half of text is an Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.117, fol.25 ^{r-v})	Second half of text is V to Tract, Mass (M.R., p.499)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.17	Ego sum panis in festo Corp. Christi	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.117, foll. 35v-36r)	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.624)	
p.18	Puer qui natus est nobis in Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt.		Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1003)	
p.19	Tu es Petrus in festo SS. Petri, & Pauli	From 3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.117 fol.107v)	From 3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1012)	
p.20	Beata Elisabeth in Visit. B.M.V.			This is the liturgical assignment given in the print.
p.21	Maria unxit pedes Iesu in festo S. Mariae Magdaleneae		Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1045)	

M. C. MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, liber secundus (Venezia, Gardano, 1578)

TEXT	INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N	OTHER
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE

p.1	Pax vobis	Feria II infra Hebd. I post Oct. Pasch.		Ant. at Mag., Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.502)
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		Feria III infra Hebd. IV post Oct. Pasch.		Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.533)
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This is the liturgical
assignment given in
the print.

p.2	0 Alberte norma munditie	in festo S. Al- berti Carm.		Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>Analecta</u> , V, p.102)
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p.3	Levita Laurentius	in festo S. Laurentij	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.1150v-151r)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1085); <u>1st R</u> (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1086)
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	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.4	Maria virgo caelos ascendit	in Assump. B.M.V.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Can., fol. 137v)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1105)	
p.5	Puellae saltanti	in decollatione S. Ioannis Baptistae	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.117, fol.178r)	Ant. at Pss., Lauds, Sext, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1126, 1127, 1128)	
p.6	Nativitatem hodiernam	in Nat.B.M.V.	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (Reg.117, fol.193r-v)	Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1131)	
p.7	O Crux, benedicta	Invent. S. Crucis	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol. 115r); Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.116, fol.119v)		
		Exalt. S. Crucis		Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1149)	
p.8	Respice Francisce	in festo S. Francisci Conf.			This is the liturgical assignation given in the print.

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.9	O quam gloriosum	in festo Om. Sanct.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.118, fol.23r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1194)	
p.10	Tribulationem et dolorem	Off. Defunct., & Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum		Ps.114, vv.4-5, proper to Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1367)	
p.11	Domine, si adhuc	in festo S. Martini	V to 3rd R, Matins (Reg.118, fol.45v); Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.118, fol.49v)	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1210, 1213, 1214)	
p.12	Eminente	in Present. B.M.V.			This is the liturgical assignment given in the print.
p.13	O virgo iusta	in Concept. B.M.V.			This is the liturgical assignment given in the print.
p.14	Vos qui relequistis	Comm. Ap., & Ev. extra Temp. Pasch.		Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1238)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.15	Qui me confessus	Comm. Un. Mart. extra Temp. Pasch.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.215 ^r)	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1249, 1257, 1258)	
p.16	Tamquam aurum	Comm. Plur. Mart.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.207 ^v)	Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1267, 1268)	
p.17	Sacerdos et pontifex	Comm. Confess. Pont.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.114, fol.226 ^{r-v})	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1279)	
p.18	Simulabo eum	Comm. Confess. non Pont.	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (Reg.114, fol.218 ^r)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1292)	
p.19	0 Doctor optime	Comm. Confess. pro Doct.	Ant. at Mag., 1st & 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.218 ^r)	Ant. at Mag., 1st & 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1279, 1290)	
p.20	Haec est virgo prudens	Comm. Virg.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.234 ^r)	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1301, 1310, 1311)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.20-21	Haec est domus Dei	in dedicatione Ecclesiae		From Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1319)	
p.21	Gaude felix parens Hispania	in festo S. Dominici			Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers (Analecta, XXV, p.239)

N. C.MERULO, Il primo libro de mottetti a sei voci (Venezia, Gardano, 1583)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	In te, Domine, speravi	Feria V	Ps.70, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.54r)	Ps.70, vv.1-3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.89)	
p.2	Simile est regnum	Dom. VI post Epiph.		Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.336)	
p.3	Assumpsit Iesus Petrum	in Transfigur- atione Domini		Based on Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.419)	
p.4	Ubi charitas et dilectio	?			
p.5	Veni sancte spiritus	Dom. Pentecostes	From an Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers (Reg.117, fol.11r)	V to Alleluia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.296)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.6	Ne reminiscaris Domine	First section is an Ant. at Litanies (Can., fol.43V)	First section is an Ant. at Litanies (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1390)	Second section is an Ant. in this liturgy (<u>MAR.</u> , p.177)
	pro remissione peccatorum vel avertenda tribulatione			
p.7	Quae sunt in corde	Feriae II & IV Augusti	3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.723, 725, 728, 730, etc)	
p.8	In Deo speravit	Dom. XI post Pent.	Gradual, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.315)	
p.9	Peccantem me quotidie	Officium Defunctorum	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1378)	
p.10	Delicta iuventutis meae	Officium Defunctorum	First section is an Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.140V)	First section is an Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1374)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.11	Dominus dedit Dom. I & II Septembris; Feria V infra Hebd. I & II Septembris in Augusto		From 1st R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.746, 751, 752, <u>756</u>)	
		From R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.58r)		
p.12	O sacrum convivium in festo Corp. Christi	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.117, fol.36v-37r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.624)	
p.13	Ure igne sancte spiritus At the Litanies	Oratio, recited after Litanies (Cic., fol.35v-36r)	Oratio, recited after Litanies (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1394)	
p.14	Benedicite spiritus Dominica	Canticum trium puerorum, v.17, Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.13v)	Canticum trium puerorum, v.17, Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.18)	
p.15	Magna enim sunt Feriae II & IV Augusti		2nd R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.723, 725, 728, <u>730</u> , etc)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.16	0 rex gentium	Antiphona maior ad Magnificat, Vespers (Reg. 114, fol. 49r)	Antiphona maior ad Magnificat, Vespers (B.R., p. 185)	
p.17	Verbum iniquum	Dominicae Augusti	6th R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp. 722, 728, 733, etc)	
		Feriae III & VI Augusti	3rd R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp. 724, 726, 729, 731, etc)	
p.18	Ubi sunt misericordiae	?		
p.19	Gaude sponsa chara Dei	in ded. eccl.? in festis B.M.V.?		
p.20	0 altitudo divitiarum	in festo SS. Trin.	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp. 599, 607, 608)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.21	Peccavi super numerus		7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.647, etc)	
	Feriae IV post Pentecostes		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.650, etc)	
	post Pentecos- tes	R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.43r-v)		

0. C.MERULO, Primo libro de mottetti a quattro voci pari (Venezia, Gardano, 1584)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Qui manducat meam carnem	in festo Corp. Christi	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg. 117, fol. 33 ^v)	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p. 622)	
p.2	Sancta et immaculata	in Nat. Dom.	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg. 114, fol. 59 ^{r-v})	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p. 212)	
		in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p. 943)	
		Officium B. Mariae in Sabbato		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p. 1340)	
		Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol. 142 ^r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p. 1355)	
p.3	Beati qui habitant	in festo S. Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph (Dom. III post Epiph. celebranda)			Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers; 2nd R, Matins; V to Gradual, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p. 175)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.4	Vigilate ergo	V to 9th R, Matins (Reg.114, fol.224 ^r)	V to 8th R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1286, 1296)	
p.5	Dum illuc escente	in festo S. Marci		Non-liturgical?
p.6	Clamavi in toto corde meo	Dominica	Short R and V, None (<u>Cic.</u> , fol.26 ^r)	Short R and V, None (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.44-5)
p.7	Dominus regit me	Dominica	V and Short R, Sext (<u>Cic.</u> , fol.26 ^r)	V and Short R, Sext (<u>B.R.</u> , p.41)
p.8	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Sabbato, and many major feasts	Ps.97, v.6, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.71 ^v)	Ps.97, v.6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.115, 215, 257, 605)
p.9	Iste sanctus Theodorus	in festo S. Theodori	Adapted from 1st R (without V), Matins, Comm. Un. Mart. extra Temp. Pasch. (Reg.114, fol.210 ^v)	Adapted from Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers, & 1st R (without V), Matins, Comm. Un. Mart. extra Temp. Pasch. (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1249, 1251)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.10	O gloriosa Domina	v.1, Hymn, Lauds, Visit., S.Maria ad Nives, Assump., only (Rit., fol.45r-v; P.D., fol.130v)	v.1, Hymn, Lauds (B.R., pp.879, 921, 944, 1026, 1134, 1341, 1356) (see also above, at footnote 188)	
p.11	Vias tuas, Domine	in itinerario clericorum		V (MAR, p.94)
p.12	Repleatur os meum	Dominica	V and Short R, Prime (Cic., fol.27v)	V and Short R, Prime (B.R., p.27)
p.13	Quis est homo	?		
p.14	Cantabo Domino	?		
p.15	Memento mei, Deus	Officium Defunctorum	4th R (without V), Matins (P.D., fol.140v)	4th R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.1375)
p.16	Iste est Ioannis	in festo S. Ioannis Ev.	From 6th R, Matins (Reg.114, foll. 81v-82r)	From 8th R, Matins (B.R., pp.228-9); from Ant. at Ben., Lauds (B.R., pp.229-30)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.17	Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam	Feria VI	Ps.85, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.65 ^r)	Ps.85, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.106)	
p.18	Maria mater gratiae	Officium parvum B.M.V.		From Hymn <u>Memento</u> salutis, proper to the Lesser Office Hours (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1350, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360)	
p.19	Cogitavi dies antiquos	Feria V	Ps.76, v.5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.57 ^v)	Ps.76, v.5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.93)	
p.20	Ne proijcias me	Feria V	Ps.70, v.10, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.54 ^r)	Ps.70, v.10, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.89)	
p.21	Beati qui custodiunt	Sabbato	Ps.105, v.3, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.76 ^r)	Ps.105, v.3, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.121)	

P. G. CROCE, Motetti a otto voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1594)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	in Ascensione Domini		Ps.46, vv.1-3, 5, 1st half of v.6, with excerpts from vv.8 & 9, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.549-50)	
p.2	Ave virgo sponsa Dei	in festis B.M.V.			Non-liturgical?
pp.3-4	Quaeramus cum pastoribus - Ubi pascas	in Nat.Dom.			Cast in the strictly liturgical "R, V, final section of R" form.
p.5	Factum est silentium	in Apparitione S. Michaelis Ar. in Dedicatione S. Michaelis Arch.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.968) 1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1163) fo11.206 ^v -207 ^r)		

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.6	Decantabat populus Israel	Dom. II post Pasch. Dom. III post Pasch. Feria IV infra Hebd. III post Oct. Pasch.	6th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.72v-73r)	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.521) 2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.525)	
p.7	Plange quasi virgo	Sabbato Sancto	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.38v)	3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.4/5)	
p.8	Ornaverunt faciem templi	October Feria II post Dom. I Octobris in dedicatione ecclesiae	Opening is R (without V), Matins (Reg.118, fol.3r-v)		Opening is 2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>MAR</u> , p.373) R with V, Matins (<u>C.A.O.</u> , IV, p.335)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	Non-liturgical: see above, p.49.
p.9	Percussit Saul mille	Dominicae post Pentecostes	4th R with V, Matins (B.R., pp.646, 654, 660, etc)		
		Feria III infra Hebd. I post Oct. Pent.; Feriae VI post Pentecostes	1st R with V, Matins (B.R., pp.610, 652, 658, 664, 670, etc)		
p.10	Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth				
p.11	Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius	Dominica	Ps.150, vv.1, 3, 4, parts of 5, proper to Lauds (B.R., p.20)		
p.12	Descendit angelus Domini	in Nat. S. Ioannis Bapt.	Ps.150, vv.1, 3, 4, parts of 5, proper to Lauds (P.D., fol.14v)	Combination of parts of 4th & 8th Rr (with- out Vv), Matins (Reg. 117, fol.1.88r, 90r-v)	
p.13	Anima mea liquefacta est	in Assump. B.M.V.		Combination of parts of 4th & 8th Rr (with- out Vv), Matins (B.R., pp.999. 1002)	Ant. at Pss., 1st Vespers (C.A.O., II, p.282)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.14	Virgo decus	Non-liturgical.		
p.15	Audite verbum Domini	Opening is 6th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 114, fol.11.5v-6r)	Based on 8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.163)	
p.16	Veni in hortum meum	Opening is an Ant. at Pss., Matins (Reg. 114, fol.14v)	Based on 2nd R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.172)	Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>C.A.O.</u> , II, p.289)
p.17	Deus misereatur nostri	Ps.66, vv.1-2, 2nd half of v.3, 1st half of v.4, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.13r)	Ps.66, vv.1-2, 2nd half of v.3, 1st half of v.4, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.18)	
p.18	Ecce panis Angelorum	From Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.302)		

Q. G.CROCE, Motetti a otto voci (...) Libro secondo (Venezia, Vincenti, 1595)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.1-2	Laudens exultet	in Assump. B.M.V.			Non-liturgical?
p.3	O viri, O Galilaei	in Ascensione Domini			Non-liturgical text in which, however, several liturgical formulae are paraphrased.
p.4	O Iesu amabilissime	?			
pp.5-6	Quid prodest	?			
p.6	Ecce patris	?			
p.7	Benedictus es, Domine	in festo SS. Trin.?			
p.8	Dic nobis, Maria	Dom. Res.	From Sequentia, Mass (O.H.S., p.389)	From Sequentia, Mass (M.R., p.258)	

		P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
TEXT INCIPIT		FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.9	Incipite Domino	?			
p.10	Gaudeamus omnes	Comm. Sanct.	(see remarks in adjoining, "Trident- ine" column)	Variant of an Introit of common occurrence in <u>Proprium Sanctorum</u> , e.g., <u>M.R.</u> , p.452, in festo <u>Omnium Sanctorum</u>	
p.11	Ingredimini omnes	in festis B.M.V.			Non-liturgical
p.12	O Iesu mi dulcissime	in Nat.Dom.			Non-liturgical
pp.12-13	Buccinate in Neomenia tuba	(seemingly for any great liturgical occasion)	Centonized text, drawn from Pss. 80, 97, 150	Centonized text, drawn from Pss. 80, 97, 150	
pp.13-14	Nesciens	in Nat.B.M.V.			R with V, Matins (<u>C.A.O.</u> , IV, p.302)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.15	Triste spectaculum			
pp.16-17	Si bona suscepimus - Nudus egressus sum	Pars I is a R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 117, fol.58r)		1st R with V, Matins (B.R., pp.746, 751, <u>752, 756</u>)
	Dom. I & II Septembris; Feria V infra Hebd. I & II Septembris			

R. G.CROCE, Motetti a quattro voci (. . .) libro primo (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	O sacrum convivium	in festo Corp. Christi	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.117, fol1.36v-37r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.624)	
p.2	Exaltabo te, Domine	Feria II	Ps.29, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.30v)	Ps.29, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.49)	
p.3	In die tribulationis meae	Dom. Palmarum	Second section of text is from 1st R with V, Matins (Reg.116,	Second section of text is from 1st R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.434)	First section of text is a V to 1st R, Matins (<u>MAR</u> , p.179)
p.4	Exaudi Deus orationem meam	Feria II post Dom. III Quadragesimae; Missa votiva pro infirmis			Offertory, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.138)
		Feria IV	Ps.54, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.72v)	Ps.54, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.75)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.5	Voce mea ad Dominum	Feria V	Ps.76, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.57v)	Ps.76, v.1, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.93)	
p.6	Congratulamini mihi omnes	in Nat.Dom. in Annunc. B.M.V.	R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.62r-v)	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.944)	
p.7	O gloriosa Domina	in festis B.M.V.	v.1, Hymn, Lauds, Visit., S.Maria ad Nives, Assump., only (Rit., fol.45r-v; <u>P.D.</u> , fol.130v)	v.1, Hymn, Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.879, 921, 944, 1026, 1134, 1341, 1356) (see also above, at footnote 188)	
p.8	Cantate Domino canticum novum	Feria VI	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.68v)	Ps.95, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.110)	
p.9	In monte Olivet	Feria V in Coena Domini	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.18v-19r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.447)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.10	Unus ex discipulis	Feria V in Coena Domini	6th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.21 ^v -22 ^r)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.452)	
p.11	Tenebrae factae sunt	Feria VI in Parasceve	6th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.32 ^r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.466)	
p.12	O vos omnes	Sabbato Sancto	5th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.40 ^r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.477)	
p.13	Tristis est anima mea	Feria V in Coena Domini	2nd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.19 ^{r-v})	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.447)	
p.14	Velum templi	Feria VI in Parasceve	2nd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.29 ^{r-v})	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.463)	
p.15	Beati eritis cum maledixerint	Comm. Ap.		5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1235)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.16	Ego sum pauper	in festo S. Iosephi a Cupertino			Communion, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.156)
p.17	Benedicam Dominum	ferial liturgy	Short R and V, proper to Sext (Cic., fol.28 ^r)	Short R and V, proper to Sext (<u>B.R.</u> , p.41)	
p.18	Virtute magna	Feria III post Dom. Res. Comm. Ap. Temp. Pasch.	1st R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.55 ^r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.487)	
p.19	Stabat mater iuxta crucem	in festo 7 dolori		5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1245)	Sequentia, Mass (<u>MAR</u>)

S. G.DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de motetti a sei voci (. . .) (Venezia, Amadino, 1597)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Quem dicunt homines	in Cathedra S. Petri		8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.894)	
		in festo App. Petri & Pauli		8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1014)	
		in festo S. Petri ad Vincula	First section is 7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, foll.109v- 110r)	8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1057)	
p.2	Exaudi, Domine, vocem meam	in Cathedra S. Petri Antiochiaie		7th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.928)	
		Feria II	Ps.26, vv.12-14, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.28v)	Ps.26, vv.12-14, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.48)	
	Dom. infra Oct. Ascensionis				Variant of Introit, Mass (<u>MAR</u> , p.97)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.3	Duo Seraphim clamabant	in festo SS. Trin.		8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.606)	
p.4	Sancti mei	in festo Om. Sanct.		6th R with R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1190)	
		Comm. Plur. Mart.	8th R with V, Matins (Reg.114, fol.205r)	8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1274)	
p.5	O rex gloriae	in Ascensione Domini	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.116, fol.90r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.555)	
p.6	Stephanus autem plenus	in festo S. Stephani	Combination of 2nd, 3rd & 9th Rr (without Vv), Matins (Reg.114, fol.72v-73r, 73r, 77r)	Combination of 1st, 2nd & 3rd Rr (without Vv), Matins (B.R., pp.221, 221, <u>222</u>)	
p.7	Domine Iesu Christe fili Dei	Missa pro Defunctis?			

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.8 Animam meam dilectam	Feria VI in Parasceve	5th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.31r-v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.467)	
p.9 In principio	Dominicae & Feriae V Augusti		First section is 1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.721, 725, 727, 730, etc); second section is 2nd R (with- out V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.721, 725, 727, 730, etc)	
	post Pentecostes	Combination of 2 Rr (without Vv), Matins (Reg.117, fol.49r-v, 51v)		

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.10	Sancta et immaculata	in Nat.Dom.	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59r ⁻ V)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)
				6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)
				1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)
			1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	
p.11	Confirmatum est cor virginis	in Nat.Dom.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>Cic.</u> , fol.142 ^r)	
			R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.64 ^r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.256, 270)
p.12	Dixerunt impij	Dom. Palmarum	R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.7V-8 ^r)	8th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.436)
			Feria IV maioris Hebdomadae	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.442)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.13	Veni, sancte spiritus	Dom. Pentecostes		Opening of Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.296)	
p.14	Sicut mater consolatur	Dom. II Adventus	Opening section is 6th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, foll.17v-18r)	5th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.173)	
p.15	Ascendens Christus	in Ascensione Domini	Combination of Short R & V, Matins; Ant. at Pss., Matins; Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg. 116, foll.89v, 85r, 90r)	Combination of Short R & V, Matins; Ant. at Pss., Matins; Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.550, 550, 555)	
pp.16-17	Exultate iusti	Feria II	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.31r-v)	Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.51)	
		Comm. Mart.		Ps.32, vv.1-5, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1271-2)	
p.17	Domine Iesu Christe, qui de caelis	Missa de Passione Domini		Oratio, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.505)	

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.18	Adhaesit pavimento	Dominica	Ps.118, vv.25-30, proper to Prime (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.18r)	Ps.118, vv.25-30, proper to Prime (<u>B.R.</u> , p.25)	
p.19	Congratulamini mihi omnes	in Nat.Dom.	First section is R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.62r-v)		
		in Annunc. B.M.V.	Second section is an Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.160v- 161r)	7th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.944)	
p.20	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12v)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)	
pp.21-2	Laudem dicite Deo nostro omnes sancti eius	in festo Om. Sanct.? Comm. Sanct.?			

I. B.DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti a cinque, a sei et otto voci (Venezia, Gardano, 1599)

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.2-3	Benedicite omnia opera - Benedicamus Patrem	in festo SS. Trin.	Combination of Canticum trium puerorum, v.1; 8th R (without V), Matins; part of an Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg. 117, foll.22v, 25r)	Combination of Canticum trium puerorum, v.1; 7th R (without V), Matins; part of Introit, Mass (B.R., pp.18, 606; M.R., p.297)	
p.4	Surrexit pastor bonus	Feria II infra Oct. Pasch.; Feria V infra Hebd. II post Oct. Pasch.		2nd R (without V), Matins (B.R., pp.486, 516)	
		Feria V infra Oct. Pasch.	3rd R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.60r)	2nd R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.505)	
		Dom. II post Pasch.		8th R (without V), Matins (B.R., p.510)	

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.5	Sancta et immaculata	in Nat.Dom.	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59r-v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)	
		in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)	
		Officium B. Mariae in Sabbato		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)	
		Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	
pp.6-7	Audite verbum Domini - Annunciate, et audium facite	Dom. I Adventus	Pars 1 is 6th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 114, fol.5v-6r)	8th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.163)	
pp.8-9	Pater noster - Ave Maria	ante matutinum & omnes Horas, praeterquam ad completorium		Two prayers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.10-11	Ductus est Iesus - Et cum ieiunasset	Dom. I Quadragesimae	Opening of Sequentia, Mass (Missale, fol.31v)	Opening of Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.65)
pp.12-13	Emendemus in melius - Pecca- vimus cum patribus	Dom. I Quadragesimae Dominicae III & IV Septembris	3rd R with V, Matins (Reg.115, fol.52r-v)	Pars 1 is 4th R (with- out V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.373) Pars 2 is Vv to 7th & 2nd Rr, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.759, 766)
pp.14-15	Iubilate Deo omnis terra	Dominica	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.12r)	Ps.99, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.17)
pp.15-16	Quanti mercenarii - Pater, peccavi	Dom. I Quadragesimae Sabbato infra Hebd. II Quad.	9th V and R, Matins (Reg.115, fol.56r-v) 1st V and R, Matins (Reg.115, fol.74v)	1st V and R, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.395)

P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N				
TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.17-18	Tribulatio patientiam - Benedictus ergo Deus	Sabbato Quatuor Temporum Pentecostes All feriae except Sabbato	Part of Pars 1 is Ant. at Ben., Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.597) Capitulum, Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.133, 135, <u>138</u> , 139, etc)	
p.19	Congratulamini mihi omnes	in Nat.Dom. in Annunc. B.M.V.	R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.62 ^{r-v}) 7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.944)	
pp.20-21	Tribularer, si nescirem - Secundum multitudinem	Dom. I Quadragesimae Feria V infra Hebd. I Quadragesimae	Pars 1 is 8th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 115, fol.55 ^v -56 ^r) 1st R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.381-2)	
pp.22-3	In die tribula- tionis meae	Feria V	Ps.76, parts of vv.2, 3, 4, 6, proper to Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.93)	

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N			
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER	
p.23	Hei mihi, Domine	Officium Defunctorum	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.141 ^r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1376)		
pp.24-5	Ierusalem cito - Israel, si me audieris	Dom. II Adventus	1st R with V, Matins (Reg.114, fol.15 ^{r-v})	Pars 1 is 1st R (with- out V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.172)		
pp.26-7	Videns Iacob - Congregatis autem cunctis	Dom. III Quadragesimae	3rd R with V, Matins (Reg.115, fol.76 ^{v-77^r})	Pars 1 is 4th R (with- out V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.398)		
pp.28-9	Beati eritis - Cum vos oderint	Comm. Plur. Mart.		Combination of parts of Sequentia S. Ev. secundum Matthaëum, and Sequentia S. Ev. secundum Lucam, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , pp.473, 476-7)		
p.30	Derelinquat impius	Dom. I Quadragesimae		5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.373)		
p.31	O bone Iesu	?				

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
pp.32-3	Ave Regina caelorum - Gaude gloriosa	post Purif. B.M.V. usque ad feriam quintam in Coena Domini exclusive	Marian Antiphon (P.D., fol.104r)	Marian Antiphon (B.R., p.156)
pp.34-5	Non turbetur cor - Ego rogabo Patrem	in Ascensione Domini	Pars 1 is 7th R (with- out V), Matins (Reg. 116, foll.86v-87r)	5th R with V, Matins (B.R., p.550)
pp.36-7	Viri Galilaei - Cumque intuerentur	in Ascensione Domini	Introit with V, Mass (Missale, fol.51r-v)	Pars 1 is Introit, Mass (M.R., p.279); Pars 2 is opening of Lectio III, Matins (B.R., p.548)
pp.38-9	Tu es Petrus - Et quodcumque	in festo SS. Petri & Pauli	3rd R with V, Matins (Reg.117, foll.107v- 108r)	3rd R with V, Matins (B.R., p.1012)
p.40	O altitudo divitiarum	in festo SS. Trin.	Capitulum, 1st Vespers, Terce, Lauds, 2nd Vespers (Cic., foll. 61v, 62r, 62v)	Capitulum, 1st Vespers Lauds, 2nd Vespers (B.R., pp.599, 607, 608)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.41	Aspice, Domine, quia	Dom. I & II Novembris		3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.811, 817)	
		Sabbato ante Dom. II Nov.		Ant. at Mag., Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.817)	
p.42	Veni, Domine, et noli tardare	Dom. III Adventus	First section is 8th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.27 ^v)	7th R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.183)	
		Sabbato infra Hebd. III Adventus		3rd R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.193)	
p.43	Veni, sponsa Christi	Comm. Virg.	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.114, fol.234 ^r)	Ant. at Mag., 1st Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1301)	
		Comm. Virg. & Mart.		Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1311); Ant. at Pss., Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1308)	
p.44	Tollite iugum meum	Comm. Ap. & Ev.	2nd R with V, Matins (Reg.114, fol.192 ^v - 193 ^r)	2nd R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.1232-3)	

	TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.45	Ego sum pastor bonus	Dom. I post Oct. Pasch.	Combination of 2 Ants. at Pss.; Lauds (Reg.116, fol.66r-v)	From Sequentia, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.271)	
p.46	Hodie Christus natus est	in Nat.Dom.	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.114, fol.69r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.221)	
p.47	O magnum mysterium	in Nat.Dom.	5th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.58r)	4th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.211)	
p.48	Verbum caro factum est	in Nat.Dom.			Non-liturgical, cast in form of a Hymn.
pp.49-50	Virgo decus	in Nat.Dom.			Non-liturgical

U. G.CROCE, Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus concinendae, tum viva voce, tum etiam omni instrumentorum genere cantatu commodissimae (Venezia, Vincenti, 1601)

	TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
			VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.1	Audi, Domine, hymnum	post Pentecostes Feria II infra Hebd. III post Pent.	R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.42v-43r)	3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.648)	
p.2	Verbum iniquum	post Pentecostes Dominicae Augusti Feriae III & VI Augusti	R (without V), Matins (Reg.117, fol.52r-v)	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.722, 728, 733, etc)	3rd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.724, 726, 729, 731, etc)
p.3	Domine, refugium	Feria V	Ps.89, vv.1-2, proper to Lauds (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.61r)	Ps.89, vv.1-2, proper to Lauds (<u>B.R.</u> , p.98)	

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.4	Veni, Domine, et noli tardare	8th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.27 ^v)	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.183)	
p.5	Dies sanctificatus illuxit	First section is V to Gradual, 2nd Mass (Missale, fol.14 ^v)	First section is V to Gradual, 2nd Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.20)	2nd R with V, Matins (<u>MAR.</u> , p.224)
p.6	Deus canticum novum	R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.78 ^v)		
pp.7-8	Tribularer si nesciram - Secundum multitudinem	Pars I is 8th R (without V), Matins (Reg.115, foll.55v-56 ^r)	7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.531)	1st R with V, Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.381-2)

TEXT INCIPIIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.9	Angelus Domini descendit	Dom. Res. Dom. in Albis	(as in <u>Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli</u> , p.15)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.483-4)
p.10	Diligam te, Domine	Dominica	Ps.17, vv.1-2, proper to Matins (<u>P.D.</u> , fol.8r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.495)
p.11	Ego rogabo Patrem	in Ascensione Domini		7th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.553)
p.12	Non turbetur cor vestrum	in Ascensione Domini	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.116, fol.86v-87r)	5th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.550)
p.13	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	Commemorationes communes, sive suffragia sanctorum		Ant. in Vespers & Lauds, de S. Maria, quando non dicitur eius officium parvum (<u>B.R.</u> , pp.149-50)
p.14	Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes	Dom. Pentecostes		Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.588)

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.15	Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas	Ant. at Pss., Lauds (Reg.117, fol.25 ^r)	Introit, Mass (<u>M.R.</u> , p.297)	
p.16	O sacrum convivium	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (Reg.117, fol.36 ^v -37 ^r)	Ant. at Mag., 2nd Vespers (<u>B.R.</u> , p.624)	
p.17	Sancta et immaculata	7th R (without V), Matins (Reg.114, fol.59 ^{r-v})	6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.212)	
	in Annunc. B.M.V.		6th R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.943)	
	Officium B. Mariae in Sabbato		1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1340)	
	Officium parvum B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (Cic., fol.142 ^r)	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1355)	

TEXT INCIPIT	FEAST etc TO WHICH PROPER	P R E C I S E L I T U R G I C A L L O C A T I O N		
		VENETIAN	TRIDENTINE	OTHER
p.18	Egredimini et videte	in dedicatione ecclesiae? in festis B.M.V.?		Paraphrase of Canticum Canticorum, III, 3.
p.19	Descendi in hortum meum	in dedicatione ecclesiae? in festis B.M.V.?		Canticum Canticorum, VI, 10 & 12.
p.20	Aspice, Domine, de sede	Dom. I Novembris	2nd R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.811)	
p.21	Vidi speciosam	in Assump. B.M.V.	1st R (without V), Matins (<u>B.R.</u> , p.1102)	

V. A. WILLAERT, et al, I Salmi appartenenti alli Vesperi per tutte le feste dell'anno, parte a versi, & parte spezzadi, accomodati da cantare a uno & a duoi Chori, novamente posti in luce (Venezia, Gardano, 1550)

p.23 Laudate pueri Dominum

pp.24-5 Confitebor tibi Domine

pp.26-7 Lauda Ierusalem

p.31 De profundis

pp.32-3 Memento

pp.34-6 Domine, probasti me

pp.36-7 Credidi

p.38 In convertendo

For liturgical data on all these texts, in the light of the Fausti-Zarlino memorandum quoted on p.104, see below, print Y.

W. G. CROCE, Compietta a otto voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1591)

pp.1-2	Iube Domine benedicere	Opening V, etc., of Compline
pp.2-3	Cum invocarem	Ps.4
p.4	In te, Domine, speravi	Ps.30
pp.6-8	Qui habitat	Ps.90
p.8	Ecce nunc benedicite	Ps.133
p.9	Procul recedant	2nd verse of hymn, <u>Te lucis</u>
p.10	Nunc dimittis	Canticum Symeonis
p.11	Alma redemptoris mater	Marian Antiphons
p.12	Ave Regina caelorum	
p.13	Regina caeli laetare	
p.14	Salve regina	

X. G.CROCE, Salmi che si cantano a terza, con l'inno Te Deum, et i salmi Benedictus e Miserere a otto voci
(Venezia, Vincenti, 1596)

pp.3-4 Legem pone

pp.5-6 Memor esto

pp.7-8 Bonitatem fecisti

pp.9-10 Te Deum laudamus

pp.11-12 Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel

p.12 Miserere mei

Y. G.CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597)

Column I lists the feasts on which, according to the Zarlino-Fausti memorandum (see above, p.104), Vespers were to be performed by two choirs of singers. Column II gives the particular services (First or Second Vespers) concerned. Column III lists the psalms proper to each of these services (i) in the liturgy of Venice, (ii) in that of Rome, with - in parentheses - bibliographical references to the location of settings in the Croce Vespertina (. . .)

FEAST	VESPERS	PSALMS PROPER TO THESE SERVICES, AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN THE <u>VESPERTINA</u> (. . .)	
		VENETIAN LITURGY	TRIDENTINE LITURGY
in Nat.Dom.	First	Cic., fol.13 ^r : Laudate pueri (pp.7-8, 11-12, 16); Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (p.9); Lauda anima mea (pp.17-18); Laudate Dominum quoniam (pp.18-19); Lauda Ierusalem (pp.15-16)	B.R., p.205: Dixit (pp.3-4); Confitebor (pp.4-5); Beatus vir (pp.6-7); Laudate pueri (pp.7-8); Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (p.9)
	Second	Cic., fol.14 ^{r-v} : Dixit (pp.3-4, 10-11); Confitebor (pp.4-5, 20-21); Beatus vir (pp.6-7); De profundis (pp.25-6); Memento (pp.29-30)	B.R., pp.218-20: Dixit (pp.3-4); Confitebor (pp.4-5); Beatus vir (pp.6-7); De profundis (pp.25-6); Memento (pp.29-30)
in festo S.Stephani (Second)		Cic., fol.15 ^r : as in 2nd Vespers, Nat.Dom.	B.R., p.225: as in 2nd Vespers, Nat.Dom.

FEAST	VESPERS	PSALMS PROPER TO THESE SERVICES, AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN THE <u>VESPERTINA</u> (. . .)
		VENETIAN LITURGY TRIDENTINE LITURGY
in festo S. Ioannis Ev.	(Second)	Cic., fol.15 ^v : as in 2nd Vespers, Nat.Dom. <u>B.R.</u> , p.230: as in 2nd Vespers, Nat.Dom.
in Circ.Dom.	First	<u>B.R.</u> , p.251: Dixit (pp.10-11); Laudate pueri (pp.11-12); Laetatus sum (pp.13-14); Nisi (pp.14-15); Lauda Ierusalem (pp.15-16)
	Second	As 1st Vespers
in Epiph.Dom.	Second	<u>B.R.</u> , p.284: Dixit (pp.3-4); Confitebor (pp.4-5); Beatus vir (pp.6-7); Laudate pueri (pp.7-8); In exitu (p.16)
in Dom.Res.	(Second)	<u>B.R.</u> , p.485: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph.Dom.
in Ascensione Domini	First	<u>B.R.</u> , p.545: as 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom.
	Second	<u>B.R.</u> , p.554: as 1st Vespers
in Dom. Pentecostes	First	<u>B.R.</u> , p.581: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph.Dom.
	(2nd Vespers, see over, p.248)	

FEAST	VESPERS	PSALMS PROPER TO THESE SERVICES, AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN THE <u>VESPERTINA</u> (. . .)
		VENETIAN LITURGY
		TRIDENTINE LITURGY
in Dom. Pentecostes	Second	Cic., fol.60 ^r : as in Dom.Res. B.R., p.588: as in 1st Vespers
in festo SS. Trin.	Second	Cic., fol.62 ^v : as in 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom. (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy) B.R., p.608: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph.Dom.
in Conceptione B.M.V.	Second	Cic., fol.74 ^v : Dixit (pp.3-4, 10-11); Laudate pueri (pp.7-8, 11-12, 16); Credidi (pp.22-23); In convertendo (pp.24-5); Domine, probasti me (pp.26-8) B.R., p.880: Dixit (pp.10-11); Laudate pueri (pp.11-12); Laetatus sum (pp.13- 14); Nisi (pp.14-15); Lauda Ierusalem (pp.15-16)
in Purificatione B.M.V.	First	Cic., fol.81 ^v : as 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom. B.R., p.917: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V.
	Second	B.R., p.921: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V.
in Annunc. B.M.V.	First	Cic., fol.86 ^r : as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy) B.R., p.941: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V.
	Second	Cic., fol.87 ^r : as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy) B.R., p.945: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V.

FEAST	VESPERS	PSALMS PROPER TO THESE SERVICES, AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN THE <u>VESPERTINA</u> (. . .)	
		VENETIAN LITURGY	TRIDENTINE LITURGY
in festo S. Marci	First	Cic., fol. 87 ^v : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1244: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph. <u>Dom.</u>
	Second	Cic., fol. 89 ^r : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1238: Dixit (pp. 3-4, 10-11); Laudate pueri (pp. 7-8, 11-12, 16); Credidi (pp. 22-23); In convertendo (pp. 24-5); Domine, probasti me (pp. 26-8)
in festo S. Ioannis Baptistae	Second	Cic., fol. 95 ^r : Dixit, Confitebor, Beatus vir, Laudate pueri, Memento (locations, variously, as above)	B.R., p.1003: as 2nd Vespers, Epiph. <u>Dom.</u>
in Inventione S. Marci	Second	Cic., fol. 95 ^v : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	
in festo SS. Petri & Pauli	Second	Cic., fol. 96 ^v -97 ^r : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1015: as in 2nd Vespers in festo <u>S. Marci</u>
in Visit. B.M.V.	Second	Cic., fol. 100 ^r : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1027: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. <u>B.M.V.</u> (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)

FEAST	VESPERS	PSALMS PROPER TO THESE SERVICES, AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN THE <u>VESPERTINA</u> (. . .)	
		VENETIAN LITURGY	TRIDENTINE LITURGY
in Assump. B.M.V.	First	Cic., fol.108 ^r : as in 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1102: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. <u>B.M.V.</u> (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)
	Second	Cic., fol.109 ^r : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1105: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. <u>B.M.V.</u> (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)
in Nat. B.M.V.	First	Cic., fol.113 ^r : as in 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1131: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. <u>B.M.V.</u> (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)
	Second	Cic., fol.113 ^v : as in 2nd Vespers in Concept. B.M.V. (of <u>Venetian</u> liturgy)	B.R., p.1134: as 2nd Vespers in Concept. <u>B.M.V.</u> (of <u>Tridentine</u> liturgy)
in Dedicatione Ecclesiae	Second	Cic., fol.120 ^r : Credidi, Laetatus sum, Nisi Confitebor, Lauda Ierusalem (locations, variously, as above)	B.R., p.1327: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph. <u>Dom.</u>
in festo Omnium Sanctorum	First	Cic., fol.121 ^r : as 1st Vespers, Nat.Dom.	B.R., p.1185: as in 2nd Vespers, Epiph. <u>Dom.</u>
	Second	Cic., fol.122 ^r : Dixit, Confitebor, Beatus vir, Laudate pueri, Credidi (locations, variously, as above)	B.R., p.1194: Dixit, Confitebor, <u>Beatus</u> vir, Laudate pueri, Credidi (locations, variously, as above)

One "extra" composition, a setting of Ps. 127, Beati omnes (pp.21-2), provides cover for Vespers in festo Corporis Christi, according to the Tridentine liturgy (B.R., p.621).

APPENDIX TWO

REFERENCES TO LITURGICAL MUSIC
IN THE NON-MUSICAL SOURCES

Column I lists (in order of appearance in the Breviary and Missal) those feast days and feriae on which, according to the Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, the singers of St.Mark's were required to participate in the celebration of the ducal liturgy. Column II gives the particular liturgical functions (Mass, Vespers, etc) concerned; column III their significance, if any, in terms of ducal ceremonial (andata in trionfo, or andata senza trionfo, either to the Ducal Basilica or to one of the other major churches of the city); and column IV their liturgical classification (Duplex maius, Duplex, etc). Column V sets out, ceremony by ceremony, those descriptions of liturgical music which occur in the non-musical sources.

As can readily be seen, these descriptions contain valuable information not only on the role in the liturgy of vocal polyphony - the focal point of this thesis - but also on that played by plainchant, by alternatim practices other than that adopted in the double-choir Salmi spezzati (i.e., singers and organists, No.2; singers and Chorus of Priests, Nos.10, 16; organists and Chorus of Priests, No.8), and by music for organ alone (largely, "substitute" pieces: Nos.2, 8, 15, 22, 25, etc). They show that the Ceremonial books of St.Mark's - as, indeed, those (where surviving) of the many other great churches of northern Italy - would repay further study and analysis.

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
1. Sundays of Advent	Mass and Vespers			I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 46 ^v : "Organistae semper veniunt et sonant . in omnibus [<u>Duplex maius</u> and <u>Duplex</u>] diebus [and Sundays] exceptis (. . .) dominicis Adventus (. . .) . dum modo in talibus diebus festum aliquod de supra scriptis non occurrat."
2. In <u>Nativ- itate</u> <u>Domini</u> (Decem- ber 25 th)	First Vespers and Matins	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol. 56 ^v : "Al vespero (. . .) . psalmi (. . .) . a doj chori dalli cantorj." SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol. 346 ^r (Stringa's addition): "(. . .) Vespro (. . .) con canti, & suoni soavissimi viene cantato da i Musici di Chiesa salariati, & da altri, che vengono tolti a posta per far maggior numero, poiché si canta in tal sera a otto, dieci, dodici, & sedici cori [= voci], con stupore, & maraviglia di ciascuno." STRINGA, La Chiesa (. . .), fol. 75 ^v : "(. . .) Vespero, Matutino, & la Messa (. . .) vengono & quelli, & questa con molta solennità, & con melodia di suoni, & di canti maravigliosa & indicibile cantati."
	Mass	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 56 ^v : "Al matutin (. . .) . nel primo nocturno . le tre letion cantano li cantori in canto figurato . la prima a quatro . la secunda a cinque . la terza a sei . le antifone, et responsorij tutti cantano li cantori . a tutti li psalmi, et a tutti li responsorij sonano li organi." I - Vmc, Ms. P.D.517 ^B , fol. [37 ^v]: "(. . .) si canta solennissima Messa a 4 chori." SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol. 346 ^v (Stringa's addition): "Messa (. . .) vien (. . .) cantata con altre tanta solennità di quella [funzione] della sera innanti [i.e., First Vespers]."
				F - Pn, Ms. F. Fr. 13977 (Du Val), fol. 70 ^v : Mass is celebrated with "(. . .) divers instrumens particulièrement de trombona, cornets(. . .), viollona, (. . .)voix."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
	Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.22r: "(. . .) vesperi cantantur in duobus choris cantorum, si possunt quod non sint impediti ad convivium Domini Ducis, sin autem in uno choro cantantur."
4. In festo S. Ioannis Evangelistae (December 27th)	Mass and Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M. Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad vespertas duobus choris: (. . .) S. Ioannis Evangelistae."
5. In festo SS. Innocen- tium (December 28th)	Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.3r: "[At Mass,] non pulsantur organa . nisi hoc festum venerit in Dominica . tunc enim pulsantur organa."
	Vespers			Ibid., fol.22r: "(. . .) vespere dicitur in choro sine organis, nisi venerit in dominica."
6. In festo S. Silvestri (December 31st)	Mass. First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
7. In Circumcis- ione Domini (January 1st)	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.3r: "(. . .) et in primis et secundis vespers omnes psalmi cantantur á duobus choris cantorum . olim caneantur á capella parva . cum essent duae capellae cantorum (. . .) . sed hodie parva extincta est."
	Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	
		senza <u>Trionfo</u>		

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
8. <u>In Epiphania Domini</u> (January 6th)	First Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid.: "Et dicta oratio . dum pulsatur organum . et cantores cantant motetum pro Deo <u>gratias</u> ." Ibid., fol.3v: "Qua mensa portatur ante Altare maius, quando dicitur motetum á cantoribus in vesperis pro Deo <u>gratias</u> ." Ibid., fol.56v: "(. . .) la (. . .) tavola se porta cossi conza davanti l'altar grandando quando se dice el motteto del <u>Deo gratias</u> de vespero dalli cantori." Ibid., fol.57r: "(. . .) li ministri intonano li psalmi . da poi ciascuno sona l'organo . (. . .) et quando se dice il mottetto del <u>Deo gratias</u> . se impizza la luminaria sopra l'altar . (. . .) <u>finitto</u> el mottetto . se tira via el lettore in di cantori et si porta a san Pietro."
	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.4r: "Diaconus et subdiaconus statim intonant Te Deum laudamus . (. . .) quo finito, vel á choris . vel alter-natim á choro et organis . (. . .) cantatur [<u>á choro</u>] <u>Benedicamus Domino</u> , vel organa ipsum <u>Benedicamus</u> sonant."
	Second Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.57r: "(. . .) li cantori cantano li psalmi a duj chori."
9. <u>In die Iovis Pinguis</u>	Mass		<u>Simplex</u>	Ibid., fol.4v: "(. . .) cantores cantant quantam Missam jucundam . et incohabant olim . á Kyrie eleison . hodie cantant totam Missam . quae dicitur . de la bataglia . quae composita fuit ob victoriam (. . .) Regis Francorum de Elvetijs." Ibid., fol.57r: "(. . .) si canta la Messa della Bataglia da li cantori . con li mottetti soliti . salvo sel non fusse festa che sonasse l'organo . Perché non se dicia li moteti . ma in loco di quell'i soneva l'organo, come è accaduto [in 1540] el d'i di S ^{to} Mathia venir in tal d'i."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
10. <u>In Septuagesima,</u> <u>Sexagesima et</u> <u>Quadragesima</u>				Ibid., fol.46 ^v : "Organistae semper veniunt et sonant . in omnibus [<u>Duplex maius</u> and <u>Duplex</u>] diebus exceptis (. . .) á dominica septuagesimae usque ad dominicam palmarum inclusive . dum modo in talibus diebus festum aliquod de supra scriptis non occurrat."
				Ibid., fol.6 ^r : "(. . .) et cantores in completorijs domini- carum x ^l mae nihil aliud cantant quam <u>Ave regina caelorum</u> ."
				Ibid.: "In (. . .) omnibus (. . .) Sabbatis quadragesimae cantores ultra Missam de beata virgine veniunt ad vesperas et cantant hymnum <u>Aures ad nostras</u> (. . .) . cantant etiam Magnificat tantum . et de <u>consuetudine</u> cantant primus versus hymni et <u>Magnificat</u> (. . .) alternatim cum choro."
11. <u>Dominica in</u> <u>Ramīs</u> <u>Palmarum</u>	Bene- diction of the Olives, Mass, Passion	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.57 ^v : "[Benediction of the Olives. When the procession arrives outside the church, before Mass,] li cantori (. . .) sonno sopra la chiesa (. . .) alli cavalli d'oro per cantar li versi sollitti (. . .) . et cantano <u>Gloria laus</u> ."
				Ibid.: "[For Mass,] se li porta el gradual per li cantori per cantar lā Messa . (. . .) se intra in chiesa con la (. . .) procession . cantando li cantori <u>ingrediente domino</u> . et zonti al altar grandò li cantori vanno <u>in pergolo grandò</u> et cantano l'introito della messa."
				Ibid., fol.7 ^r : "(. . .) cantatur Missa (. . .) . et cantores cantant in pulpito magno . (. . .) . et nota quod de consuetudine nostrae Ecclesiae . in <u>Dominica Palmarum</u> (. . .) unus tantum [cantorum] canit passionem."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
12. <u>Feria IV</u> <u>maioris</u> <u>hebdomadae</u>	Matins, Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.7r: "Faciatur etiam quod Magister Capellae cantorum assignat (. . .) cedulam per eum factam eorum qui destinantur ad lamentationes, responsoria, et benedictus, his tribus diebus . et ad passionem feriae quartae, et sextae . et cetera quem ipsi cantores cantare consueverunt."
				Ibid., fol.46v: "Ex consuetudine cantores tenentur cantare passionem feriae quartae et sextae maioris hebdomadae in tribus choris."
				Ibid., fol.57v: "El passio (. . .) lo dice (. . .) cum li cantori . cum el testo . 3 Christo . el resto la turba." (See also below, No 14, for further details on the singing of the Passion.)
13. <u>Feria V in</u> <u>coena Domini</u>	Matins, Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.58r: "(. . .) et li cantori cantano lo introitto . nos autem [gloriarì oportet] in pergolo grande."
	Vespers	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
14. <u>Feria VI in</u> <u>parasceve</u>	Mass, Passion	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.8v: "Cantatur passio . et nota quod hodie cantatur á tota capella cantorum . et qui cantant textum et in sive Evangelium . locuntur in pulpito lectionum . qui autem verba Christi . in pulpito Epistolae . cetera vero turba in pulpito magno cantorum." (See also above, No.12, for further details on the singing of the Passion.)
				Ibid., fol.9r: "Sacerdos cantando Ecce lignum crucis (. . .). et cantores (. . .) prosequuntur cantando in quo salus mundi pendit etc. (. . .) . Sacerdos (. . .) incipit cantare <u>hoc corpus</u> . (. . .) et cantores in choro compleant."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
	Evening sermon; opening of Easter Sepulchre Drama	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.10 ^r : "[In the procession are] due turme cantorum (. . .) . et per cantores cantatur <u>Venite et ploremus</u> . (. . .) prima thurma (. . .) sunt quatuor de <u>melioribus</u> . secunda thurma ceteri omnes."
				Ibid., fol.60 ^v : "(. . .) cantando li cantori (. . .) <u>popule meus á duj chori</u> ."
				SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.349 ^r (Stringa's addition): "(. . .) i cantori divisi in due cori. (. . .) Et pervenuto il (. . .) Corpo di Christo sopra la porta della Sacrestia, (. . .) un coro del cantori cantano: <u>Venite et ploremus</u> . Et l'altro coro risponde: <u>Popule meus con altri versi</u> ."
15. In <u>Sabbato</u> <u>Sancto</u>	More Easter Drama; Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.11 ^v : "Missa inco- hatur á <u>Kyrie</u> (. . .) per organum primum . [After the Epistle,] pulsatur organum breviter . deinde cantores cantant tractum."
				Ibid., fol.62 ^r : "(. . .) l'organo sonna li kyrie della Messa . sonna l'organo el verso confitemini . poi dui cantori cantano el tratto <u>Laudate Dominum</u> . (. . .) non se dice offertorio . ne si sonna l'organo per conto del offertorio . (. . .) non se dice <u>Agnus Dej</u> . ne se sonna l'organo per conto del <u>Agnus Dej</u> non se dice communion . ne se sonna l'organo per ditta commun- ion."
	Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.62 ^r : "(. . .) el prette . l'intona vespere autem sabbatj . et li cantori seguitano tutte le antifone . poi diacono et subdiacono intonano <u>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</u> octavo ton . finitto dal choro . sonna l'organo . poi el prette intona la antifona ad Magnificat <u>Respondens autem</u> <u>angelus</u> . et li cantori la compie . poi se dice el <u>Magnificat</u> col <u>organo et cantori</u> (. . .) . et se incensa l'altar solum . finitto . sonna l'organo . (. . .) et l'organo sonna <u>Deo</u> <u>gratias</u> ."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
16. In Dominica <u>Resurrectionis</u>	Easter Drama (final Section) and Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	Duplex <u>maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.350 ^r (Stringa's addition): "[As the procession enters the church,] quattro cantori di dentro cantano questo Verso: <u>Quem quaeritis</u> . Et quei di fuori rispondendo dicono quest'altro: <u>Iesum Nazarenum</u> ." Further dialogue follows. Polyphony or plainchant?
				Ibid., fol.350 ^v (Stringa's addition): "(. . .) si dà principio(. . .) ad una solennissima Messa."
				I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.12 ^r : "(. . .) cantores (. . .) ascendunt pulpitum lectionum ubi cantant Missam, quia hodie Dominus Dux (. . .) ascendit pulpitum magnum in quo audit Missam . si vero Dominus Dux remanet in choro ad Missam . cantores ascendunt pulpitum magnum ad cantendam Missam."
	Vespers and Compline	in <u>Trionfo</u> alla <u>Chiesa di</u> <u>S.Zaccaria</u>	Duplex <u>maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.332 ^{r-v} (Stringa's addition): "Giunto il Principe [alla Chiesa di S.Zaccaria], ode Vespro, che viene solennemente cantato da i Musici di San Marco; & fa il simile anco in udir Compieta, che dalle monache viene musicalmente cantata con non poco gusto spirituale."
				I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.62 ^v : "In procession andando et tornando se canta in die resurrectionis, et Surrexit Christus (. . .) . Et perché li cantori vanno con la Signoria a vespero a S.Zacharia . qualche volta ne lassano 4 o 6 cantori in chiesa per vespero in S.Marco."
				Ibid., fol.114 ^r , a later addition, "trata dalla tariffa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) In die S.Paschalis, et duobus sequentibus."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
				Ibid., fol.12 ^v : "Cantores cantant Alleluja, haec dies, pascha nostrum (. . .) . postea intonatur <u>Ant. ad Magnificat</u> per sacerdotem (. . .) . qua expleta per cantores . et cantato Magnificat per cantores et chorum alternatim . (. . .) cantores cantant <u>Surrexit Christus</u> etc."
17. In Ferr. II & <u>III infra Oct- avam Paschae</u>	Mass and Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.114 ^r , a later addition, "trata dalla tariffa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) In Die S.Paschalis, et duobus sequentibus."
18. Dominica in <u>Albis</u>	Mass	in <u>Trionfo a San Gemin- iano</u>	<u>Duplex maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.333 ^r (Stringa's addition): "[At S.Geminiano,] vi si canta la messa grande da i musici di San Marco."
				I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.53 ^r : "[Afterwards, in the Piazza S.Marco, en route for the Ducal Chapel,] fatto uno circolo da tutti li cantori de san Marco cantano le Antifone consuete."
				Ibid., fol.14 ^r : "Et firmata processione in loco debito ubi fuit olim Ecclesia sancti Geminiani (. . .) . cantores cantant Rm, <u>Dum transisset sabbatum</u> , cum suo versu, sine <u>Gloria patri</u> ."
	Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid.: "[Then, in S.Marco, a further Mass.] Canitur per cantores primus introitus. (. . .) Dominus Dux ascendit pulpitum magnum, ex quo audit Missam solemmiter decantatam . (. . .) processio [presumably including the singers,] intrat chorum."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
19. A die Iovis <u>ante Ascensio-</u> <u>nem usque ad</u> <u>diem Iovis post</u> <u>Ascensionem</u> <u>inclusive</u>	Mass and Vespers		Various classifications	Ibid.: "(. . .) cantores quotidie cantant . organa sonant in vesperis tantum nisi sint festa dupplicia in quibus cantatur etiam Missa per cantores et organa sonantur." Ibid., fol.46 ^r : "[In tribus diebus Rogationum cantores cant- ant] in lethanijs maioribus (. . .) cum quatuor cantoribus tantum, in processionibus solum."
20. In Vigilia <u>Ascensionis</u> <u>Domini</u>	Mass		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.14 ^v : "In Vigilia vero Ascensionis cantores (. . .) cantant divisi in duobus choris alternatim . (. . .) canonicus cantat Missam (. . .) . et cantores eam cantant et organistae pulsant organa."
21. In Ascensione <u>Domini</u>	First Vespers	in <u>Trionfo</u> <u>a San</u> <u>Marco</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.46 ^r : "[Cantores cantant] in lethanijs maioribus cum duobus choris." STRINGA, La Chiesa (. . .), fol.78 ^r : "(. . .) Vespero (. . .) viene solennissimamente cantato." I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.14 ^v : "In Vigilia vero Ascensionis cantores (. . .) cantant divisi in duobus choris alternatim. (. . .) Sua Serenitas ascendit pulpitu magnum et ibi audit vespas . (. . .) cantores cantant in pulpito novo lectionum, licet anguste maneant in eo . cum vero Serenissimus Dominus Dux sedet in choro tunc cantores locantur in pulpito magno."
	Wedding of the Adriatic Sea and Mass	in <u>Trionfo</u> <u>alli</u> <u>due</u> <u>Castelli</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.338 ^r (Stringa's add- ition): "In questa andata, e nel ritorno cantasi in mezzo del viaggio [in Bucintoro] da i Musici di San Marco innanzi il Prencipe qualche bel motteto."

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
				Ibid., fol.338 ^v (Stringa's addition): "[After the wedding of the Sea,] s'invia alla Chiesa di San Niccolò dove (. . .) Messa (. . .) viene solennemente cantata."
				I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.15 ^r : "Dominus Dux (. . .) vadit ad Ecclesiam sancti Nicolae (. . .) et ibi audit Missam quae cantatur á cantoribus nostris. Cantores nostri in accessu et recessu á litore, sunt in bucintauró domini ducis et cantant aliquid boni, et suave prolatum."
				Ibid., fol.114 ^r , a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) In Vigilia Ascensionis, et in Die"
22. In Vigilia <u>Penthecostes</u>	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.63 ^r : "(. . .) l'organo sona li kyrie della Messa . et li cantori li rispondeno in canto figurato."
				Ibid., fol.15 ^v : "Post Epistolam immediate á duobus cantoribus cantatur alleluia, et reiteratur ab omnibus cantoribus, postea pulsatur organum loco versiculi confitemini, pulsato organo, dicitur á duobus cantoribus tractus, vz. <u>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, postea ab omnibus cantoribus dicitur quoniam confirmata est.</u> "
23. In Die <u>Penthecostes</u>	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) et cantores in pulpito magno cantant Missam cum omni pompa et solemnitate."

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid.: "In die Pentecostes, [in primis vespers,] psalmos cantant cantores divisi in duobus choris, vz. quatuor cantores in uno choro, et reliqui omnes in altero, ut moris est in solemnitatibus."
				Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tariffa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) in Vigilia Pentecostes [i.e., First Vespers of Pentecost] et in tribus diebus sequentibus."
24. In festo SS. <u>Trinitatis</u>	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.16r: "Missa canitur (. . .) cum omni pompa (. . .) tamen hac die Dominus Dux non venit ad Ecclesiam . vesperae etiam solemnisime cantantur in duobus choris cantorum."
				Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tariffa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesp- eras duobus choris: (. . .) in Festo S ^{mae} Trinitatis."
25. In festo <u>Corporis Christi</u>	First Vespers; Matins; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.16r: "[First Vespers] cantantur solemmiter . sed (. . .) non consuevimus cantare psalmos in vespers per cant- ores in duobus choris . ob prolisitatem officij . (. . .) post completorium cantatur matutinum, organa pulsantur in fine cuiuslibet psalmi, et similiter ad responsoria . cantores cant- ant tantum <u>Te Deum</u> . Laudes dicuntur (. . .) in cantu plano . et organa <u>pulsantur</u> , viz. ad hymnum, ad benedictus, post bene- dictus, et ad <u>benedicamus domino</u> ."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
	Mass	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.344 ^v (Stringa's addition): " <u>(. . .) cantata Messa con grandissima solennità.</u> " I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.16 ^v : "[The procession includes] cantoribus, et varijs instrumentis musicis." Ibid., fol.64 ^r : "[During the procession,] vanno li cantori cantando in duj chori <u>pange lingua gloriosi.</u> "
26. <u>In festo S. Andree</u> (November 30th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
27. <u>In festo S. Nicolai</u> (December 6th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.35 ^r : " <u>(. . .) cantatur Missa (. . .) in saccello [S.Nicolai, in Palatio], sine organis, cum sonatoribus dominij, qui suppleantur pro organo quando opus fuerit . et cantores cantant in saccello praedicto, sonatores ante ianuam extra saccellum.</u> " Ibid., fol.46 ^v : " <u>(. . .) capella magna in sancto nicolao palatij (. . .) cantat . (. . .) capella parva suplet in nostra ecclesia . sed hodie capella parva non extat . et canimus in cantu plano . nisi dividuntur cantores.</u> "
28. <u>In festo S. Ambrosij</u> (December 7th)	Mass; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
29. <u>In Conceptione B.M.V.</u> (December 8th)	Mass; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.22 ^r : " <u>(. . .) et quandoque cantantur psalmi in secundis vespers in duobus choris pp. praesentiam Domini Ducis ad fenestram, vel ad instantiam dominorum Procuratorum qui veniunt ad vespas.</u> "

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
30. In festo S. <u>Luciae</u> (December 13th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
31. In festo S. <u>Thomae</u> (December 21st)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
32. In festo S. <u>Antonij</u> (January 17th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
33. In festo SS. <u>Fabiani, & Sebastiani</u> (January 20th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
34. In Conuersione <u>S. Pauli</u> (January 25th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.23 ^r : "(. . .) in primis vesperis (. . .) versiculi dicuntur hoc modo, vz, finito primo psalmo dicitur versiculus qui sequitur primam Antiphonam per cantores (. . .) . postea repetitur prima Antiphona, per clerum secundi chori . postea cantatur secunda Antiphona per cantores, et sic de singulis (. . .)"
35. In <u>Translatione</u> <u>S. Marci</u> (January 31st)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
36. In <u>Purificatione</u> <u>B.M.V.</u> (February 2nd)	First Vespers	in <u>Trionfo</u> a <u>S.</u> <u>Maria</u> <u>Formosa</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.46v: "(. . .) capella magna (. . .) in sancta maria formosa (. . .) cantat (. . .) capella parva suplet in nostra ecclesia . sed hodie capella parva non extat . et canimus [in nostra ecclesia] in cantu plano . nisi dividuntur cantores."
				Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) Pridie Purificationis quando non itur ad ecclesiam S.Mariae Formosae."
	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.23v: "(. . .) firmabatur processio in medio ecclesiae [sancti Marci], et cantabatur Introitus per cantores (. . .), sed nunc cerimonia haec abijt in desuetudinem."
	Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) Purificationis B.Mariae."
37. In Cathedra <u>S.Petri</u> <u>Antiochiae</u> (February 22nd)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
38. In festo S. <u>Gerardi</u> (February 23rd)	Mass; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
39. In festo S. <u>Matthiae</u> (February 24th)	Mass; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
40. In festo S. <u>Gregorij</u> (March 12th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
41. In festo S. <u>Josephi</u> (March 19th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
42. In festo S. <u>Benedicti</u> (March 21st)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
43. In Annunciatione <u>B.M.V.</u> (March 25th)	First Vespers Mass	<u>senza Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex maius</u> <u>Duplex maius</u>	Ibid., fol.25 ^r : "(. . .) et in utrisque vesperis psalmi omnes cantantur solemissime á duobus choris." STRINGA, La Chiesa (. . .), fol.71 ^v : "(. . .) Messa (. . .) viene solennemente, & con dolci concenti di suoni, & di canti celebrata." SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.343 ^v (Stringa's addition): "(. . .) Messa (. . .) con molta solennità vien cantata."
	Second Vespers; Compline	<u>senza Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex maius</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.25 ^r : "(. . .) et in utrisque vesperis psalmi omnes cantantur solemissime á duobus choris cantorum . et similiter psalmi completorij diej festi, et etiam Responsorium In manus tuas Domine, etc., et versus Custodi nos Domine, etc., et consueverant cantores respondere confessioni in cantu figurato . hodie tamen responderetur á choris in cantu plano."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
44. <u>In Translatione</u> <u>S. Isidori</u> (April 16th)	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.25v: "(. . .) cantores vero cantant Missam in pulpito magno . et similiter organistae sonant ad signum magistri chori . (. . .) et in processione cantantur lethaniae á duobus choris cantorum."
45. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Georgij</u> (April 23rd)	Mass; First and Second Vespers	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
46. <u>In Vigilia</u> <u>festi S. Marci</u> (April 24th)	Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.26r: "(. . .) et fit processio cum lethanijis maioribus á duobus choris cantorum . (. . .) . qui cantaturus est missam (. . .) quia cantores cantant, et organa pulsantur."
47. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Marci</u> (April 25th)	First Vespers	<u>in</u> <u>Trionfo</u> <u>a S.</u> <u>Marco</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.334 ^v (Stringa's addition): " <u>(. . .) Vespro</u> (. . .) si canta da' Musici di Chiesa con quella maggior solennità che è possibile." I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.26v: "Dominus vero Dux ascendit pulpitem cantorum, et ibi audit vespas . et in die sequenti in eodem loco audit Missam maiorem (. . .) . hodie tamen non fit chorus in medio ecclesiae quia Dominus Dux non ascendit pulpitem ut olim." Ibid., fol.114r, a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M. Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesperas duobus choris: (. . .) Pridie festi S. Marci."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
	Mass	in <u>Trionfo</u> <u>a S.</u> <u>Marco</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.26 ^v : "(. . .) et in medio ecclesiae fit chorus firmatis (. . .) supra supremum gradum portem chori . dum cantatus fuerit primus introitus á cantoribus."
	Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid.: "Dominus vero Dux ascendit pulpitem cantorum, et ibi audit vespas . et in die sequenti in eodem loco audit Missam maiorem (. . .) . hodie tamen non fit chorus in medio ecclesiae quia Dominus Dux non ascendit pulpitem ut olim."
48. In festo SS. <u>Philippi, &</u> <u>Jacobi</u> <u>(May 1st)</u>	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.114 ^r , a later addition, "trata dalla tarifa del (. . .) M.Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesp- eras duobus choris: (. . .) Festi S.Marci Evangelistae."
49. In Inventionem <u>S.Crucis</u> <u>(May 3rd)</u>	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.27 ^r : "(. . .) organista vero sancti Marci hebdom- adae praeteritus tenetur ibi pulsare organum in utrisque vesp- eris et missa."
50. In festo S. <u>Ioannis ante</u> <u>portam Latinam</u> <u>(May 6th)</u>	Mass; First Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
51. In Apparitione <u>S.Michaelis</u> <u>(May 8th)</u>	Mass; First Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
52. In festo SS. Gordiani, & Epimachi (May 10th)	Commemorative Mass for the Esequie del Cardinale Zen	senza Trionfo	<u>Semiduplex</u>	
53. In festo S. Isidori (May 15th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
54. In festo S. Bernardini (May 20th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.27v: "(. . .) canonicus cantat Missam, (. . .) et cantatur in cantu figurato cum cantoribus et organis, et similiter fit in vesperis."
55. In festo S. Barnabae (June 11th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
56. In festo S. Antonij de Padua (June 13th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.18r: "(. . .) cantores cantant in choro."
57. In festo SS. Viti, & Modesti (June 15th)	Mass First and Second Vespers	in Trionfo a S.Vito	<u>Duplex</u> <u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.28r: "[The procession proceeds to S.Vito] cantando lethanias cantores in duobus choris. [In the church,] canimus Missam cum cantoribus, sive organis."

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
58. In Nativitate <u>S. Ioannis</u> <u>Baptistae</u> (June 24th)	Mass; Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid.: "[First] vespere, completorium, et matutinum, sine laudibus, dicuntur in choro cum organis." Ibid.: "[Second Vespers] cum omni solemnitatem, cum duobus choris cantorum, vz. psalmi, cum organis." Ibid.: "[Second Vespers.] 1558. de ordine ser ^{mi} P. et (. . .) procuratorum, (. . .) facimus solemnitatem magnam (. . .) : cantoribus cantantur psalmis in duobus choris (. . .) in choro, ad altare maius."
From 1598, this feast was accompanied at St. Mark's by a Plenary Indulgence. Further on this, and on the large-scale music it appears to have occasioned, see above, p.63. especially footnote 273.				
59. In Inventionem <u>Corporis S.</u> <u>Marci</u> (June 25th)	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.28r-v: "[First Vespers, Compline and Matins.] Et dicitur completorium et matutinum (. . .) cum organis, sed completorium dicitur leg- endo (. . .) : et cantores cantant Te Deum laudamus cum duo- bus choris, et Deo gratias . Quando vero cantores sunt licen- tiatj propter Te Deum laudamus á (. . .) procuratoribus, loco Te Deum cantant psalmi á duobus choris in primis vespers."
				Ibid., fol.28v: "[Second Vespers.] Cantantur psalmi (. . .) in duobus choris cantorum."
	Mass	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) facimus processionem (. . .) cantando Iethan- ias á duobus choris cantorum."

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
60. In festo SS. <u>Petri, &</u> <u>Pauli</u> (<u>June</u> 29th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) in utrisque vesperis dicuntur psalmi (. . .) in cantu plano." Ibid., fol. 114 ^r , a later addition, "trata dalla tariffa del (. . .) M. Iseppo Zarlino": "Dies in quibus cantantur ad Vesp- eras duobus choris: (. . .) SS. Petri et Pauli Apost."
61. In festo S. <u>Pauli</u> (<u>June</u> 30th)	Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	
62. In Visitatione <u>B.M.V.</u> (<u>July</u> 2nd)	Mass; First and Second Vespers;		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol. 29 ^r : "(. . .) in secundis vesperis cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum, si placet Magistro chori", as, for example, in 1553, when "(. . .) Dominus Dux (. . .) venit ad fenestram audire vesperas, propter quod cantavimus psalmos in duobus choris cantorum."
63. In festo SS. <u>Hermacorum, &</u> <u>Fortunati</u> (<u>July</u> 12th)	First Vespers; Mass		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
64. In festo S. <u>Marinae</u> (<u>July</u> 17th)	Mass	in <u>Trionfo</u> <u>a S.</u> <u>Marina</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) in processione (. . .) cum lethanijis cantatis in duobus choris á cantoribus."
	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
65. In festo SS. <u>Redemptoris</u> (third Sunday of July)	Mass	in <u>Trionfo</u> <u>alla</u> <u>Chiesa</u> <u>del Red-</u> <u>entore</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.340 ^v (Stringa's addition): "[At the Church of the Redentore they celebrate] Messa bassa (. . .) con motteti cantati da i Musici di S.Marco all'Offertorio, & alla Levatione. [Afterwards, at St.Mark's, a] Messa maggiore."
66. In festo S. <u>Mariae</u> <u>Magdalenae</u> (July 22nd)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
67. In festo S. <u>Iacobi</u> (July 25th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.29 ^v : "(. . .) cantores cantant Missam in pulpi to magno cantorum."
68. In festo S. <u>Annae</u> (July 26th)	Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	
69. In festo S. <u>Petri ad</u> <u>Vincula</u> (August 1st)	First Vespers and Mass		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
70. In festo S. <u>Mariae ad</u> <u>Nives</u> (August 5th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
71. In <u>Transfiguratione</u> <u>Domini</u> (August 6th)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.30r: (. . .) in secundis vesperis, aliquando cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum, ad petitionem (. . .) procuratorum (. . .), sed ordinarie non cantantur psalmi á cantoribus."
72. In festo S. <u>Laurentij</u> (August 10th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
73. In Assumptione <u>B.M.V.</u> (August 15th)	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	CORYAT, <u>Crudities (. . .)</u> , fol.249r: "At that time I heard much good musicke in Saint Marks Church, but especially that of a treble violl which was so excellent, that I thinke no man could surpasse it. Also there were sagbuts and cornets (. . .) which yeelded passing good musicke."
74. In festo S. <u>Rochi</u> (August 16th)	First and Second Vespers Mass	<u>senza</u> <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u> <u>Duplex</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.30r: "(. . .) psalmi (. . .) cantantur in utrisque vesperis á cantoribus in duobus choris."
75. In festo S. <u>Bartolomei</u> (August 24th)	Second Vespers Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>Duplex</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
76. In festo S. <u>Augustini</u> (August 28th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
77. In Decollatione <u>S. Iohannis</u> <u>Baptistae</u> (August 29th)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol. 30 ^v : "(. . .) secunde vespere dicitur in choro cum organis."
78. In Nativitate <u>B. M. V.</u> (September 8th)	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	
	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) cantantur psalmi á duobus choris cantorum in utrisque vespers."
79. In Exaltatione <u>S. Crucis</u> (September 14th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
80. In festo S. <u>Victori</u> (September 18th)	First Vespers; Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid.: "Missa canitur ad eius Altare [i.e., at the Altar of St. Victor] sed cantores manent in pulpito magno."
81. In festo S. <u>Matthæi</u> (September 21st)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
82. <u>In Dedicatione</u> <u>S. Michaelis</u> <u>Archangelis</u> (September 29th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
83. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Hieronimi</u> (September 30th)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
84. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Francisci</u> (October 4th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.31 ^r : "(. . .) cantores cantant missam in choro."
85. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Magni</u> (October 6th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
86. <u>In festo S.</u> <u>Iustinae</u> (October 7th)	Mass	in <u>Trionfo</u> a S. <u>Giustina</u>	<u>Duplex</u>	SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604 ² , fol.341 ^v (Stringa's addition): "(. . .) <u>Messa</u> (. . .) viene (. . .) cantata con solennità molto grande di canti, & di suoni, fatti da i Musici di S.Marco." STRINGA, <u>La Chiesa</u> (. . .), fol.75 ^v : "(. . .) alla Chiesa di Santa Giustina (. . .), uditavi Messa cantata."
	First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	

FEAST	OFFICE	AN DATA	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
87. In dedicatione <u>Ecclesiae S.</u> <u>Marci</u> (October 8th)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.31 ^r : "(. . .) psalmi in vespers duobus choris."
88. In festo SS. <u>Marci, Sergij,</u> <u>& Bachi</u> (October 9th)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid.: "(. . .) ad Offertorium Missae [we, the clergy,] imus (. . .) ad Altare sacramenti, et ibi manemus usque ad finem Missae, exceptis cantoribus, qui redeunt in choro, pro Sanctus et Agnus Dei cantando."
89. In festo S. <u>Lucae</u> (October 18th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
90. In festo SS. <u>Simonis, &</u> <u>Iudae</u> (October 28th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
91. In festo <u>Omnium</u> <u>Sanctorum</u> (November 1st)	Mass	senza <u>Trionfo</u>	<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	Ibid., fol.31 ^v : "(. . .) cantantur psalmi á cantoribus in duobus choris in utrisque vespers . [in secunde vespere] dicto per cantores Deo gratias vel dum cantores dicunt motetum pro Deo <u>gratias presbiter et ministri</u> (. . .) vadunt in sacrarium."

FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>	LITURGICAL CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTIONS OF LITURGICAL MUSIC
92. In <u>Commemoratione</u> <u>Omnium Fidelium</u> <u>Defunctorum</u> (November 2nd)	Mass and Second Vespers		<u>Semiduplex</u>	Ibid., fol.71 ^r : "(. . .) li cantori cantanno tutta 1a Messa in canto figuratto."
93. In festo S. <u>Leonardi</u> (November 6th)	First Vespers and Mass		<u>Duplex</u>	Ibid., fol.31 ^v : "(. . .) ad Missam cantores manent in pulpito magno, et ibi cantant eam." The clerics are stationed in the Chapel of St. Leonard.
94. In festo S. <u>Theodoro</u> (November 9th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	
95. In festo S. <u>Martini</u> (November 11th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u>	
96. In <u>Presentatione</u> <u>B.M.V.</u> (November 21st)	Mass; First and Second Vespers		<u>Duplex</u> <u>maius</u>	

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FEAST	OFFICE	<u>AN DATA</u>
97. In festo S. Clementis (November 23rd)	First Vespers and Mass	<u>Duplex</u>
98. In festo S. Catharinae (November 25th)	Mass; First and Second Vespers	<u>Duplex</u>

GENERAL RUBRICS

I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.46^r. The singers are required to attend "in omnibus simplicibus diebus totius annj . in Missis (. . .) exceptis diebus veneris et sabbatj . (. . .) sed posteaquam capella parva non extat . cantores cantant Missam de Dominica in die Sabbatj . loco cuius habent exemptionem die jovis."

Ibid., fol.46^v: "Organistae semper veniunt et sonant . in omnibus suprascriptis diebus [listed in the preceding pages] exceptis simplicibus diebus . et dominicis Adventus . et á dominica septuagesimae usque ad dominicam palmarum inclusive . dum modo in talibus diebus festum aliquod de supra scriptis non occurrat . excepta etiam feria secunda . tertia . quarta . et sexta maioris hebdomadae."

Ibid., fol.18^r: "DE SALVE REGINA IN DOMINICIS DIEBUS. In omnibus dominicis diebus ab Octava Penthecostes usque ad Adventum, quando facimus totum officium de dominica, et quod non fiat commemoratio de alijs octavis, nec duplex officium pro feria secunda . semper post vespas imus cum processione ad ymaginem virginis mariae . cantando Salve Regina in cantu plano . intonata ad Altare maius á duobus clericis . et cantores cantant illis tribus versiculis, in cantu figurato ad dictam ymaginem . respondendo altematim á choro."

Ibid., fol.6^r, on Matins of the Blessed Virgin: "(. . .) organum maius . quae etiam pulsatur ante incohationem matutini beatae virginis."

Ibid., fol.47^r: "DE PSALMIS CANENDIS IN OMNIBUS SOLEMNITATIBUS. In omnibus solemnitatibus, olim psalmi cantabantur á capella parva, et á cantoribus qui ex pratica cantant, si habebantur, sic dicebantur cantare more georgiano. Hodie sic mos canendi abiit in desuetudinem, et cantores maioris capellae cantant omnes psalmos et reliqua, et psalmos cantant divisi in duobus choris, vz. quatuor cantores in uno choro, et reliqui omnes in altero, quia capella parva non extat."

Ibid., fol.65^v, on the Messa solenne episcopale: "Et ditti li kyrie eleison da li cantori . (. . .) et l'episcopo intona (. . .) gloria in excelsis deo (. . .) . finitta la gloria da li cantori . (. . .) l'episcopo intona (. . .) el credo . (. . .) Al incarnatus est delli cantori l'episcopo (. . .) fa la reverentia (. . .) . ditto da li cantori, Et homo factus est . (. . .) finito da li cantori el credo."

Ibid., fol.66^v, entitled Processio de Domina ad Pluviam sive serenitatem petendam: "Et se dice per li cantori le lettanie della madona (. . .) da quatro cantori . et tutti li altri cantori li risponde sempre Sancta Maria ora pro nobis . (. . .) El canto delle letanie a duj chori et le due cartolline del psalmo et versiculi . le tengonno el maistro del choro."

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

(Contemporary publications of Venetian sacred music are not listed here: for an inventory, see Appendix I.)

- A. Ceremonial books.
- B. Other liturgical books.
- C. Chronicles and diaries.
- D. Other contemporary descriptions of Venetian religious ceremonial.
- E. Contemporary writings on the general religious and political life of Venice.
- F. Contemporary writings on music.
- G. Modern writings on music.
- H. Modern writings on the political, religious and cultural life of Venice.

N.B. Documents new to the study of the music of the Gabrieli and their contemporaries are preceded in this bibliography by an asterisk (*).

A. C E R E M O N I A L B O O K S

- *I - Ma, Ms. Q. 117. sup., foll.279^r-301^r, De ritibus, et caeremoniis ecclesiae S.Marci Venetiarum, dedicated to Doge Francesco Venier (1554-6) by "Nicolaus Moravius (. . .) Vicarius Sti Marci".
- *I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, compiled in 1564 by Maestro di cerimonie Bartolomeo Bonifacio. Many later additions in the hands of successive Maestri.
- *I - Vas, Archivio dei Consultori in Jure, Filza 555. A copy of the Rituum (. . .), without, however, any of the additions later made to the I - Vnm original. No signs of use. Dated "1602. 26 octobris".
- *I - Vas, Archivio dei Consultori in Jure, Filza 557, Compilazione de' cerimoniali esistenti (. . .) nella Cancellaria Ducal, written by Maestro di cerimonie Zuanne Gavazzi and dated "1755". On foll.1^r-159^v, a copy of the Rituum (. . .); on foll.160^r-482^r, miscellaneous descriptions of Ducal ceremonial covering the period 1565-1755.
- *I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 2768, Cerimoniali della chiesa di S.Marco. A partial copy, dated "1576", of the Rituum (. . .).
- *I - Vmc, Ms. P. D. 517^B, a copy of a book (now apparently lost) originally compiled by "Calvitio Gneccchi Cav^r di Sua Sertà" and dated "1590". Several descriptions, in the same hand, of post-1590 ceremonies.
- *I - Vmc, Ms. Donà 132, foll.145^r-174^v, a further copy (with some omissions), datable to the first decade of the 17th century, of the Gneccchi book.
- *I - Vnm, Ms. Donà 132, foll.176^r-186^v, a short Ceremonial book covering the years 1606-8.
- I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 1269 (= 9573), the Ceremoniale Magnum, dated 1678, of Maestro di cerimonie Giovanni Battista Pace.
- I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 396 (= 7423), a copy of the preceding, datable to c.1730. Some alterations.
- I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, covering the period c.1550-99. Mostly concerned with the visits to Venice of foreign dignitaries; also, however, descriptions of several other, miscellaneous occasional events.
- I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, II. Contemporary with, and largely identical to, Cerimoniali, I; many omissions, however; a few unique descriptions.
- I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, III. A continuation of Cerimoniali, I, beginning with the year 1600.

B. OTHER LITURGICAL BOOKS

*I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 111 (= 2116). A 14th-century Missale ad usum ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum.

*Basilica di S. Marco. A set of five Graduals, for the use of St. Mark's, possibly dating from the 15th century. Presently unavailable for consultation.

*I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 1602. A 16th-century Orationale ad usum Basilicae Ducalis S. Marci Venetiarum. Copied and illuminated in 1567 by the Brescian priest Giovanni di Vitali.

*GB - Ob, Ms. Canonici Liturg. 323, Ordo orationis secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae S. Marci de Venetiis. 16th-century.

*I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Registri 114-18. A set of five 15th-century Antiphonaries for the use of St. Mark's.

*I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Registro 119, Psalterium (. . .) ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum. Published edition: Venezia, Rampazetto, 1609.

*I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 1605. A 15th-century Modus, et ordo officii faciendi in ecclesia beati Marci in Dominica ramis palmarum, et aliis diebus hebdomadae sanctae.

Antiphonarium Romanum ad ritum Breviarii, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum (Venezia, Iuntas, 1606).

Benedictio aquae, quae fit in nocte Epiphaniae, iuxta consuetudinem Ecclesiae Ducalis S. Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Poletti, 1721).

BLUME (C.) and DREVES (G.M.), Analecta hymnica medii aevi, V (Leipzig, 1889), XXV (Leipzig, 1897).

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*Dominica tertia Julii. Missa pro solemnitate SS. Redemptoris (Venezia, Poletti, 1722).

Graduale Romanum de tempore et sanctis (. . .) ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum (Venezia, Cieras, 1610).

HESBERT (R.J.), Corpus antiphonarium officii, 4 voll. (Roma, 1964-70), 'Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta', Series maior, Fontes VII-X.

Liber usualis missae, et officii (. . .) (Paris, Roma, 1964).

Litaniae secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Pinelli, 1719).

MARBACH (Carolus), Carmina scripturarum, scilicet antiphonae et responsoria ex sacro scripturae (Hildesheim, 1963).

Missale aquileyensis ecclesiae cum omnibus requisitis (. . .) anno 1519 (facsimile: Bruxelles, 1963).

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*Officia propria festi S. Marci Apostoli, & Evangelistae, cum Octava; necnon Translationis, et Apparitionis Corporis eiusdem. Recitanda ex antiqua consuetudine in Ducali eius Ecclesia (Venezia, F. de Satrianis, 1602).

*Officia propria sanctorum civitatis dioecesis, et totius dominii Venetiarum (Venezia, Recurti, 1765).

*Officia propria sanctorum tam de praecepto, quam ad libitum (Venezia, Recurti, 1765).

*Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Prosdocimi, 1716¹; Venezia, Bortoli & Maldurae, 1736²; Venezia, Albriti, 1753; Venezia, Pinelli, 1791⁴).

*Officium in nocte Nativitatis Domini ad matutinum secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Poletti, 1721¹; Venezia, Pinelli, 1759²).

Supplicationes ad Sanctissimam Virginem Mariam tempore belli secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Basilicae S. Marci Venetiarum (Venezia, Pinelli, 1695).

C. CHRONICLES AND DIARIES

MARTINO DA CANALE, Estoires de Venise, ed. A. Limentani (Firenze, 1972).

SANUTO (Marino), I diari, 58 voll., ed. F. Stefani, G. Berchet, N. Barozzi (Venezia, 1879-1903).

*I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 1 (= 8356), Cronaca Agostini, covering a period from the origins of Venice to 1570.

*I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 519 (= 8438), a chronicle of Venice from its origins to 1585.

*I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 393 (= 8647), Cronaca Dosi: the origins of Venice to 1593. Especially informative for the period 1570 to 1593.

*I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 2557, Annali delle cose della Repubblica di Venezia dal 1592 al 1595, the private chronicle of Senator Francesco Contarini.

I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 553 (= 8812), the Compendio delle cose, 1558-1598 of F. Molin di Marco.

*I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 1138-41, the Cronaca veneta, con vite dei Dosi of G.Sivos. Another copy: I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 1818 (= 9436). Covering the period up to 1615.

F - Pn, Ms. F. Fr. 13977, the Remarques triennales of Jean-Baptiste du Val, secretary to the French Ambassador to Venice. For the years 1607-9.

*I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 135 (= 7605), Cronaca Savina. A history of Venice from its origins to 1616.

D. OTHER CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS OF VENETIAN RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL

I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Busta 91, Processo 208.

I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 139.

I - Vas, Commemoriali, xxiv, in which a few entries pertain to late 16th-century State ceremonial.

AVANZO (Martiale), Aviso della solenissima, e trionfante entrata nella (. . .) città di Venetia del (. . .) Sebastiano Veniero (Venezia, s.n., 1574).

Il bellissimo, et sontuoso trionfo fatto nella (. . .) città di Venetia nella publicatione della lega ([Brescia], s.n., 1571).

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LASSELS (Richard), The voyage of Italy (Paris, Du Moutier, 1670).

LUMINA (M.), La liberatione di Vinegia dalla peste (Venezia, s.n., [1577]).

MASENETTI PADOVANO (G.M.), Li trionfo et feste solenne che si fanno in la creatione del Principe di Vineggia, in ottava rima (Padova, s.n., 1554).

MORYSON (Fynes), An itinerary (. . .), containing his ten yeeres travell(. . .), 3 pts. (London, Beale, 1617).

Ordine, et dichiarazione di tutta la mascherata fatta nella città di Venetia la Domenica di Carnevale. Per la gloriosa vittoria contra Turchi (Venezia, s.n., 1572).

PORCACCHI (Tomaso), Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo rè di Francia (. . .) descritte (. . .): nel quale si raccontano (. . .) le feste, con le quali è stato ricevuto in Venetia (Venezia, Angelieri, 1574).

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